

EXHIBIT 3

DECLARATION OF ALVIN SCHMIDT IV

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I hereby declare as follows:

1. My name is Alvin Schmidt IV. I was asked to review the declaration submitted by Zainab N. Ahmad to the Southern District of New York on March 6, 2023, as well as the two FD-302 forms that were attached as exhibits to her declaration.

Background and Qualifications

2. I am qualified to provide an assessment regarding the two FD-302 forms in question because of my career in the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI). Following my service in the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC), I entered the FBI in July 1998, and retired from FBI in January 2022. Because I was mobilized back into the USMC from 2002 to 2006, during which time I was deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan, my total tenure working as an FBI agent was approximately 19 years.
3. During my FBI career, I was involved in investigations concerning organized crime, violent crime, and international terrorism, and I led a multi-state investigation involving over 20 subjects, which included partnerships with federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. From my FBI experience, I am familiar with advanced investigation techniques. In terms of experience directly relevant to the subject matter of this Declaration, I wrote hundreds of FD-302 forms and reviewed thousands more.

Explanation of Analysis and Conclusion

4. As part of my analysis, I reviewed the Memorandum of Law in Support of the Motion for Sanctions filed by Plaintiffs on February 23, 2023 (ECF No. 163), the Richard Gates Declaration (“Gates Declaration”) that was attached to the Plaintiffs February 23, 2023 Motion (ECF No. 165-2), the Memorandum of Law in Opposition to the Motion for Sanctions filed by Gibson Dunn on March 6, 2023 (ECF No. 168), Ms. Ahmad’s declaration and its attached FD-302 forms (ECF No. 169), which were also filed on March 6, 2023 as an attachment to Gibson Dunn’s filing, and the other 82 FD-302 forms released in the same tranche as the two FD-302 forms at issue by the Department of Justice pursuant to FOIA requests in March 2020 (“March 2020 FOIA response”).¹
5. For reference purposes, I will be referring to the first attachment to Ms. Ahmad’s declaration, the 5-page FD-302 form documenting an interview of Richard William Gates III on March 18, 2018 that is labeled Exhibit A, as the “2456” memo. And I will be referring to the second attachment, labeled as Exhibit B, which is a one-page FD-302 with only paragraph of mostly redacted text in its body, as the “2470” memo.

¹ My review focused mostly on the first page of each FD-302 form in the March 2020 FOIA response, since the opening page is what contains the information necessary for most of my analysis. Attached is a compilation of those opening pages (as Exhibit A).

6. My understanding from reading the Gates Declaration is that his written testimony is that there were two interviews conducted sequentially on Sunday, March 18, 2018, with the first involving Office of Special Counsel (“OSC”) prosecutor Greg Andres and the second involving OSC prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Ms. Ahmad for the entirety of the latter session. I further understand that Mr. Gates’ written testimony is that he believes that “much of” the contents of *both* of these interviews were memorialized in the “2456” memo, and further, that there was no 87-minute interview-within-an-interview conducted by Ms. Ahmad that was “documented in a separate 302,” as stated on page 4 of the “2456” memo.
7. For the reasons detailed below, it is my opinion, based on nearly two decades of experience as an FBI agent that the “2470” memo could *not* be the memorialization of an interview of Mr. Gates (or anyone else) conducted in compliance with FBI procedures, and the contents of the “2470” FD-302 form indicate that it was recording a non-interview investigative activity that occurred on April 17, 2018, one month after the March 18, 2018 interview of Mr. Gates.

FD-302 Forms Serve Multiple Purposes

8. The FD-302 form is the FBI report format used to memorialize interviews conducted by or involving the FBI. FD-302 forms can also be used for other purposes, however, such as documenting observations of an FBI agent, providing explanations regarding the logging of evidence into a given case file, or documenting the execution of a search or arrest warrant.
9. All FD-302 forms, whether used to memorialize interviews or for other investigative purposes, contain certain information, including the following: (1) the file number(s) associated with the pertinent case file(s), (2) the name of the FBI agent(s) who can attest to the truthfulness of the information included in the document, (3) a listing of persons involved in the investigative action, and (4) the dates relating to the investigative activity performed, the drafting of the FD-302 form, and its entry into Sentinel, the FBI’s case management system.

Date on “2470” Memo Indicates Investigative Activity Occurred on April 17, 2018

10. The FD-302 template records three different dates, all on the first page: (1) “Date of entry,” in the top right-hand side, just above the preamble, (2) “Date drafted,” in the bottom, right-hand corner, and (3) “Investigated on,” in the bottom left-hand corner, which is the date of the investigative activity being memorialized or documented in the given FD-302 form.
11. Based on my experience, the meaning of each date field on an FD-302 form, including “Investigated on,” would be common knowledge and readily understood by federal prosecutors.

12. As an example, for the FD-302 of Mr. Gates' interview on March 20, 2018 (Exhibit B), it was entered into the Sentinel case management system ("Sentinel") on April 9, 2018 ("Date of entry"), the first draft of the FD-302 (typically based primarily on the notes taken during the interview) was typed up on March 20, 2018 ("Date drafted"), and the date of the interview memorialized by the form was conducted on March 20, 2018 ("Investigation on").
13. The contents of the "2470" FD-302 form show that it was entered into the Sentinel system on April 23, 2018 ("Date of entry"), the first draft of the information was typed up on April 17, 2018 ("Date drafted"), and the investigative activity being documented by the form occurred on April 17, 2018 ("Investigated on").
14. Thus, despite the one unredacted sentence in the body of the "2470" FD-302 form *referencing* an interview with Mr. Gates on "March 18, 2018," the date information contained in the "2470" memo indicates that this form is actually documenting an activity that occurred on a date almost one month *after* March 18, 2018.

Several Factors Indicate the "2470" Memo Does *Not* Document an Interview

15. Setting aside the date information, the "2470" FD-302 form on its face is not the memorialization of an interview *at all*, regardless of date, which I will explain below.
16. There are three factors indicating that the "2470" memo is not a memorialization of an interview: (1) the body of the memo is simply too short for it be an "interview 302" of an 87-minute interview, (2) the preamble does not contain key information that is found in the other 82 FD-302 forms from the March 2020 FOIA release, and (3) the one sentence of the paragraph that is not redacted actually indicates that the "2470" FD-302 is discussing or referencing an FD-302 form that memorialized the March 18, 2018 interview, as opposed to documenting the contents of some "separate" interview conducted on March 18, 2018.
17. In the "2470" memo, the entire contents of the body are all within one paragraph. An "interview 302" for a discussion of any meaningful length or detail would require multiple paragraphs. As discussed in more detail below, this is because standard procedure is that the opening paragraph of an FD-302 form memorializing an interview, known as the "preamble," provides necessary and relevant context regarding the others involved in the meeting, among other things.
18. The body of the "2470" memo is evidently only one paragraph because there is only one redaction box. If you look at the other FD-302 forms with significant redactions in the March 2020 FOIA response, it appears that each redacted paragraph receives its own redaction box. But even if the "2470" memo had another paragraph in addition to a preamble, it is highly unlikely that the memorialization of an 87-minute interview could be captured within a single paragraph.

Information Absent from Preamble of “2470” Memo

19. When an FD-302 form is used to memorialize an interview or a proffer session, there are certain common elements that are expected to be included in the preamble, such as the participants and the location. Generally, the participants in an FBI interview fall into one of three broad categories: (1) the person interviewed, (2) the person(s) conducting interview, and (3) other person(s) present, such as defense counsel or a translator/interpreter.
20. For example, I reviewed the other 82 FD-302 forms released by the Department of Justice pursuant to FOIA requests in March 2020 (“March 2020 FOIA response”) in the same tranche that included the two FD-302 forms that Gibson Dunn submitted as exhibits to the declaration of Zainab Ahmad.
21. All of the other 82 FD-302 forms in the March 2020 FOIA response were used to memorialize interviews.
22. Other than five “interview 302s” (which were among the sessions where no OSC prosecutor evidently participated), the preamble in those other FD-302 forms in the March 2020 FOIA response identified the name of the person being interviewed, as well as the names of the FBI personnel (with the relevant title followed by a redacted name), as well as any OSC prosecutors or other government personnel who also participated.
23. In the majority of those other 82 “interview 302s,” counsel for the interviewee was referenced, mostly identified by title and name (which was sometimes redacted) and in several instances, noted as not being present. In most, but not all, of the FD-302 forms in the March 2020 FOIA response, the location of the interview was also disclosed in the preamble.
24. In the five FD-302 forms mentioned above that did not identify the government officials participating in the interview in the opening paragraph, the location of the interview (or noting for one that it was conducted virtually over Microsoft Lync) *was* documented in the preamble in each of those five forms. In these cases, the names of the FBI agents would still be easily ascertainable in the unredacted version of these five FD-302 forms, however, because the name(s) of the interviewing agent(s) would be listed in the “by” block at the bottom of the first page.
25. One of the reasons that it is standard procedure to identify all interview participants in the preamble who are not listed in the “by” block at the bottom of the first page is that those identities are significant for evidentiary purposes. For example, when there is discovery production for prosecutions that proceed to trial, the preamble of the FD-302 forms allow discovery recipients to know who witnessed any given interview besides the investigative agents listed in the “by” block.
26. In the “2470” FD-302, the unredacted portion of the preamble does not identify Ms. Ahmad or any other government official. In every FD-302 form contained in the March 2020 FOIA response that documented an interview in which a prosecutor was involved,

the title and name of each prosecutor is listed without redaction. Additionally, the preamble of the “2470” FD-302 form does not reference the presence of Mr. Gates’ attorney.

27. Thus, based on the pattern of redactions from the March 2020 FOIA response and my own experience and background from nearly two decades at the FBI, I would have expected Ms. Ahmad’s title and name to appear in the unredacted portion of the preamble *if* the “2470” FD-302 form was, as Ms. Ahmad stated in her March 6, 2023 declaration, the memorialization of an interview that she participated in. But neither Ms. Ahmad’s title nor her name appears in the unredacted portion of the “2470” memo, which is another indication that it was *not* an “interview 302.”
28. If the “2470” FD-302 form was actually the memorialization of an interview, I also would have expected a location to be mentioned in the unredacted portion of the preamble, even if the specific address was redacted or perhaps not listed. But the fact that there is no mention of a location in the unredacted portion of the preamble is yet another indication that the “2470” FD-302 form is not the memorialization of an interview.

Reference to Serial Number in “2470”

29. The last factor indicating that the “2470” FD-302 form was not used to document an interview is the reference in the one unredacted sentence to “Serial 445 of captioned investigation.”
30. While it is impossible to know what exactly is discussed in the redacted portion of the “2470” FD-302 form, the mention of “Serial 445” suggests that this form was created to document an investigative activity on April 17, 2018 that related to an interview of Mr. Gates one month earlier, on March 18, 2018.
31. As an example, it could be that this “2470” memo documented a request or comment from one of the prosecutors shared with the FBI agent in the “by” block in the bottom of the page, or it could be that the FD-302 form that memorialized the March 18, 2018 interview of Mr. Gates was added to or removed from a given case file. But as already noted, it is impossible to know what investigative activity was documented without viewing the contents of the redaction block, other than that the “2470” memo was *not* the memorialization of an interview conducted in compliance with FBI procedures.
32. Although this is technical, it is potentially significant that the unredacted sentence in the “2470” FD-302 form states that the March 18, 2018 interview of Mr. Gates already had a Serial Number. A piece of evidence is automatically assigned an FBI Serial Number *after* it is entered into Sentinel, and that Serial Number is its identifier within a given case file.
33. This is potentially important because the 5-page “2456” FD-302 form that documented Mr. Gates’ March 18, 2018 interview could not have been assigned a Serial Number at

the time the “2470” FD-302 form was completed, since the “2456” form was entered into Sentinel on April 25, 2018, which is two days *after* the “2470” form had already been entered, on April 23, 2018. (The “Date of entry” is automatically populated by Sentinel when an FD-302 form is entered into the system.)

34. It is possible that that the FBI agent who authored the “2470” form essentially guessed what Serial Number would be assigned to the “2456” form (since Serial Numbers are sequentially assigned in increasing chronological order), but in my experience, this would be highly unlikely and not considered acceptable practice by any FBI agent.
35. Once an FD-302 form is entered into Sentinel, its contents cannot be altered or edited in any way. The only changes that can be made would be to add the form to a new case file (or files), to remove it from a given case file, or potentially to delete it from Sentinel entirely. Either of the latter two actions require approval from the appropriate personnel at FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., which would mean that a record would exist of any such actions having been performed. (I have personally never seen an FD-302 form deleted entirely from Sentinel, but I believe it is possible.)
36. Based on my nearly two decades of experience at the FBI, I believe that the “Serial 445” reference indicates one of three things: (1) that the author of the “2470” FD-302 guessed about the Serial Number that would be assigned to the “2456” form, (2) that there is another FD-302 of an interview of Mr. Gates on March 18, 2018, but which has not been made public yet (even in redacted form) pursuant to the FOIA requests submitted by media organizations, or (3) that the “2456” form was drafted to replace an earlier version of an FD-302 memorialization of the March 18, 2018 interview of Mr. Gates that was either moved to a different case file or potentially deleted from Sentinel.
37. Regardless, the reference to “Serial 445” is another indication that the “2470” memo form does *not* document any interview, but instead documents an investigative activity that occurred on April 17, 2018 regarding the March 18, 2018 interview of Mr. Gates.

Unusual Aspects of the “2456” Memo Not in Accordance with FBI Procedure

38. I believe it is important to address what I believe to be several highly unusual aspects of the “2456” memo that were not in accordance with FBI procedure. In particular, I find to be of concern the following: (1) that Mr. Gates’ attorney was not mentioned in the preamble of the “2456” memo, (2) that only three emails are discussed as having been shown to Mr. Gates, even though the Gates Declaration suggests that he was shown many more exhibits, and (3) the bracketed paragraph regarding Ms. Ahmad’s purported arrival and departure is something I do not recall having seen in nearly 20 years in the FBI.

Mr. Gates’ Attorney Not Listed in Preamble

39. As an initial matter, Mr. Gates’ attorney Thomas Green, submitted his own signed statement in this litigation, in which his written testimony was that he was also present, and Ms. Ahmad did not dispute that Mr. Gates’ attorney was present with him on Sunday,

March 18, 2018. In the preamble of the “2456” memo, however, there was no mention of Mr. Green’s participation.

40. While Mr. Green not being named in the preamble of the “2456” memo could have been an oversight, there are layers of protection to prevent against an accidental omission, including the FBI personnel in the “by” block at the bottom of the FD-302 form and the relevant supervisor needing to formally approve the veracity of the document before entering it into Sentinel.

How Emails Shown to Mr. Gates were Discussed

41. In terms of the content of the “2456” memo, the body’s narrative discusses three emails being shown to Mr. Gates. Although the discussion regarding Mr. Gates’ responses to those three emails seems to be documented in accordance with standard procedure, the Gates Declaration suggests that he was shown dozens of exhibits in total, between emails and screenshots of WhatsApp messages.
42. Standard procedure would require that all such exhibits shown to Mr. Gates be not only included in the notes attached to the FD-302 form, but also identified in the body of the “interview 302” itself in a manner that, on request, they could be produced (this is particularly important when a large volume of material makes copying difficult). And yet, the body of the “2456” memo mentions just three total emails, and no screenshots of WhatsApp messages, as having been shown to Mr. Gates.
43. For the sake of comparison, there are two “interview 302s” attached that were released in the March 2020 FOIA response that demonstrate the proper procedure, for Richard Hannah Davis on February 8, 2018 (“Davis 302,” which is attached as Exhibit C) and for Thomas “Tad” Devine on July 6, 2018 (“Devine 302,” attached as Exhibit D).
44. In the Davis 302, this is a partial, but sufficient example of how the body’s narrative documented evidence being shown to Mr. Davis: “DAVIS was shown promissory notes from 2005 and 2007 from DMP to DAVIS (Exhibit 2). DAVIS did not recall executing promissory notes and did not know why he would have a promissory note. He does not recall receiving the money or the promissory note.”
45. In the Devine 302, approximately half of the six-page body was the section called “Documents.” The section begins, “Devine was shown the following documents;,” and it is followed by a list of 22 items, which included a detailed description of the exhibit in question and Mr. Devine’s reaction and response to each. For example, the first item states: “1. Consulting Agreements between Devine related entities and Paul Manafort. Devine stated these were standard contracts where there would have been schedules attached hereto. Document 009 would have been the contract for the 2010 Ukraine Presidential Campaign.” This is in accordance with proper FBI procedure.
46. At the end of the Devine 302 is the statement, “A copy of the above-referenced documents and interview notes have been attached for the file.” This is intended to help

facilitate the discoverability of the exhibits shown to Mr. Devine during the interview. This is in accordance with proper FBI procedure.

47. In the “2456” memo, however, only three emails are discussed, which is inconsistent at least with what was stated in the Gates Declaration. Further, there was no exhibit number assigned to any of those three emails, and there is no note in the body regarding these emails (or any other materials) being attached to the FD-302 form. Regardless, given the layers of approval needed to enter an FD-302 form into Sentinel (as described above), it is my professional opinion that the entire collection of exhibits shown to Mr. Gates on March 18, 2018 should be attached to the “2456” memo in Sentinel.

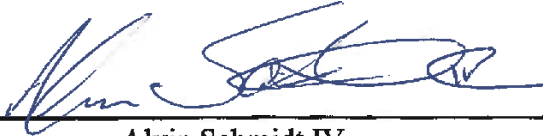
Highly Unusual Nature of Bracketed Paragraph

48. The most concerning aspect of the “2456” memo, though, is the highly unusual nature of the bracketed paragraph stating that there would be a “separate” FD-302 form documenting what it noted was an 87-minute interview-within-an-interview conducted by Ms. Ahmad and a Supervisory Special Agent (whose name is redacted), which is the second paragraph of page 4 of the “2456” memo.
49. In FD-302 forms used to memorialize interviews, FBI agents have significant latitude regarding the style and level of detail contained in the body of the document. Broadly speaking, however, FD-302 forms for interviews are intended to be concise summaries of a given interview.
50. Many FBI agents will organize the narrative of the interview in an FD-302 form by categorizing according to the subjects discussed, as opposed to a chronological recording of the interview. The author of the 5-page “2456” FD-302 form, for example, appears to have followed a subject-based structure, as opposed to a chronological ordering of the interview.
51. Thus, based on my experience, the bracketed paragraph on page 4 of the “2456” form regarding Ms. Ahmad’s arrival and departure does not seem to fit within the format and structure of the narrative utilized by the authoring agent.
52. In “interview 302s” that are structured chronologically, I have on occasion seen comments inserted somewhere within the body of the narrative regarding things such as breaks or certain participants arriving or leaving.
53. For “interview 302s” following a subject-based structure, I do not recall ever seeing in nearly two decades at the FBI a bracketed comment somewhere within the body of the narrative stating the time of arrival and departure of a certain prosecutor or FBI agent mid-interview. The standard procedure in a subject-based structure is that such information regarding someone’s partial participation would be noted in the preamble or at the end of the body of the narrative.

54. In my nearly two decades at the FBI, I do not recall ever seeing another FD-302 form that contained a similar bracketed paragraph inserted into the body's narrative in this fashion, nor do I recall ever seeing an FD-302 that explicitly stated that an interview-within-an-interview was conducted and that it would be "documented in a separate 302." I do not believe it would be appropriate to speculate why or how this paragraph appeared, but I do believe that any experienced FBI agent or federal prosecutor would be concerned about these irregularities in the "2456" memo. It is my professional opinion that further inquiry would be necessary to determine its accuracy.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated: March 19, 2023
Boston, Massachusetts

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Alvin Schmidt IV", is written over a horizontal line.

Alvin Schmidt IV

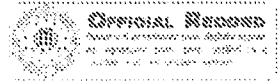
EXHIBIT A

[REDACTED]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 12 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/26/2018

RICHARD BURT, former United States (U.S.) Ambassador and current Board of Directors member of CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546 by Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky. Accompanying BURT were CNI's [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, BURT executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b3
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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
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Investigation on 02/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/12/2018

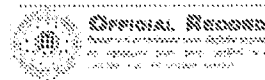
by [REDACTED]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/29/2017

JAMES JAY CARAFANO, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] social security account number (SSAN) [REDACTED] was interviewed on 09/11/2017 at his office at The Heritage Foundation (Heritage), 214 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, DC. CARAFANO's telephone number is [REDACTED] and his email address is [REDACTED]

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After interviewing agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised CARAFANO they were seeking assistance with an investigation, CARAFANO asked if this was regarding [REDACTED] CARAFANO was informed that it was not regarding [REDACTED] CARAFANO asked if that was the [REDACTED] and the agents replied affirmatively. CARAFANO explained he would need to consult with his people first and would return shortly.

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CARAFANO returned to his office with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for The Heritage Foundation, telephone number [REDACTED] email address [REDACTED] [REDACTED] explained he was [REDACTED] for Heritage and wanted to know what this was about. The agents advised that CARAFANO was not the target of an investigation and the FBI was simply seeking his assistance into an investigation, specifically regarding [REDACTED] [REDACTED] inquired as to whether Heritage was the target of an investigation. The agents informed him that Heritage was not the target of a case and no other Heritage employees were [REDACTED] CARAFANO confirmed [REDACTED] The agents confirmed they were working for the Special Counsel's Office.

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[REDACTED] explained that the agents would need to come back at a later scheduled time so [REDACTED] could discuss the details with CARAFANO. The agents left their contact info with [REDACTED] and CARAFANO who seemed amenable to an interview of CARAFANO at a later date.

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Investigation on 09/11/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

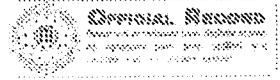
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 09/11/2017
by [REDACTED]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 8 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/04/2018

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB [REDACTED]) was interviewed on 10/26/2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Special Counsel Office located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Special Counsel Attorneys JEANNIE RHEE, ANDREW GOLDSTEIN and AARON ZELINSKY. CLOVIS also had his attorney, [REDACTED] present. CLOVIS provided the following information:

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 10/26/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File #

[REDACTED]

Date drafted 11/08/2017

b7E

by

[REDACTED]

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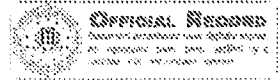
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 12 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/01/2017

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed on 10/03/2017 at his place of employment, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1400 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of interviewing Agents [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] and the nature of the interview, CLOVIS provided the following information:

About one quarter of the way through the interview, CLOVIS was advised that lying to the agents could constitute a federal offense. He did not indicate wanting to change any of his previous statements at that time.

Background

CLOVIS started off the interview by explaining that he hates Russia and that should be clear throughout his interview. CLOVIS was an Air Force fighter pilot and worked at the Pentagon during the period 1984 to 1988. CLOVIS described himself as a Sovietologist, acting as a think tank for the chief of staff. CLOVIS was an expert on Russia and Eastern Europe with additional expertise in the Middle East. CLOVIS was essentially a wargame specialist on a red team.

CLOVIS was picked up for the campaign because of his broad policy background. In addition to his military time, CLOVIS had run for office in Iowa where he found out he was good at campaigning but not at fundraising. The TRUMP campaign recruited him heavily. CLOVIS had met TRUMP during the late summer of 2014 while CLOVIS was running for state treasurer. CLOVIS was fundraising for STEVE KING, CLOVIS' congressman in Iowa, when TRUMP was a keynote speaker. TRUMP pulled CLOVIS off to the side and spoke with him at that event. Then, in spring of 2015, CLOVIS was asked to introduce TRUMP for a Lincoln dinner at Council Bluffs. TRUMP liked it and CLOVIS narrated a town hall for him shortly after that.

CLOVIS got a call from TRUMP's people asking CLOVIS to be on the campaign if TRUMP ran for president. CLOVIS was helping a friend with a different campaign at the time. So he declined and was asked to consider the TRUMP

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Investigation on 10/03/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 10/03/2017

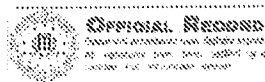
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by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/01/2017

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was approached b6
by Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on 10/03/2017 at his place of b7C
employment, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1400 Jefferson Drive,
Washington, DC after being previously interviewed that same day. After
the agents identified themselves, CLOVIS provided the following
information:

[REDACTED]

b3

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b3

CLOVIS was asked who took over handling the foreign policy team and
replied that he didn't know who took it over. CLOVIS explained that
[REDACTED] and J.D. GORDON tried to keep the group together. CARTER
PAGE and GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS were not involved with the campaign
team. They were not players in the campaign. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] PAGE wasn't even at the March 31, 2016
meeting. CLOVIS thought [REDACTED] was cultivating that
group. MICHAEL FLYNN, KEITH KELLOGG and [REDACTED] went to work in the
New York office. On occasion JARED KUSHNER would send things to CLOVIS as
well. [REDACTED] and RICK DEARBORN handled policy.

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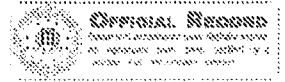
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

RICHARD HANNAH DAVIS (DAVIS) was interviewed at the Office of Special Counsel, Washington, DC on February 8, 2018. Present for the duration of the interview were FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorneys Kyle Freeny and Greg Andres. Also present was DAVIS's attorneys [REDACTED] of the law firm Petrillo, Klin & Boxer LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, DAVIS provided the following information:

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DAVIS was advised his participation in the interview was voluntary. DAVIS was also advised he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a federal agent could constitute a federal crime. DAVIS acknowledged his rights and obligations.

Background

[REDACTED] After being involved in campaigns in Alabama and Mississippi, he got more involved in politics and came to Washington, DC. He became involved with the College Republican National Committee during 1980 when Reagan was nominated. He worked with LEE ATWATER organizing small campaigns for Reagan. He ended up working as White House staff. DAVIS worked for the Department of Health and Human Services in a role as White House Liaison and was involved in speech writing. When he left the administration, he worked with [REDACTED] and PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) as consultants managing a senate campaign in Virginia.

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During the Reagan administration, DAVIS worked in the Department of Interior as well as the Commerce Department. DAVIS worked for Thomas Barrack (BARRACK) where he was introduced to MANAFORT.

He worked for ATWATER again during Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign. Afterwards, he did domestic policy work for Reagan. In 1987, he left and joined BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY. This was DAVIS's first time working with MANAFORT, but he had known him previously. He started as an associate in the firm and then was promoted to junior partner. The firm was bi-partisan. In the early 1990s, BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY was

Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/15/2018

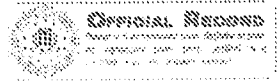
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 5 -

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/24/2018

DIANA DESTINE DENMAN, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] social security account number [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was interviewed at the FBI Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. on December 4, 2017. Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] Special Counsel Attorney Aaron Zelinsky, and DENMAN's attorney, [REDACTED]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, DENMAN provided the following information:

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Investigation on 12/04/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED]

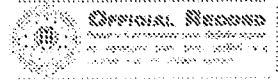
Date drafted 12/04/2017

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2017

(U//~~FOUO~~) Diana Destine DENMAN, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED]
 social security account number [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] was interviewed by SAs [REDACTED]
 at the FBI San Antonio Field Office on June 7, 2017. After being advised
 of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the
 interview, DENMAN provided the following information:

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(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN was a Republican delegate for the state of Texas at the 2016 Republican National Convention (RNC) in Cleveland, Ohio. DENMAN was a delegate for Senator Ted Cruz. Although first a Cruz delegate, DENMAN stated she nevertheless supported Trump due to her duty to her country and the Republican Party. DENMAN first participated in a Republican National Convention 1980 in Detroit, Michigan, but she wasn't officially a delegate until the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas. DENMAN noted she foolishly did not run for the Platform Committee in 1984 but she wishes she had. DENMAN did not participate in subsequent national conventions until the 2016 RNC.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN noted this 2016 RNC was personally important to her due to her belief of the poor current state of US national security policy. DENMAN informed the interviewing agents she "worked her contacts" to make certain she was on a subcommittee that mattered to her. Therefore DENMAN landed on the national security and defense subcommittee, officially named America Resurgent.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN advised approximately one to two weeks before the RNC she received a phone call from Matthew Miller. According to DENMAN, Miller stated he was hired by the Trump Campaign and wanted to touch base regarding the national security and defense subcommittee and he offered to help in her in any way he could. DENMAN stated she was gracious during the phone call but told Miller she didn't need any help.

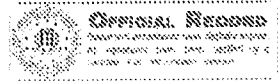
(U//~~FOUO~~) According to DENMAN, she received an email when arriving in Cleveland for the RNC from Washington, DC delegate Rachel HOFF. DENMAN

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 06/07/2017 at San Antonio, Texas, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/07/2017by [REDACTED]b3
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 6 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/18/2018

On Friday, July 6, 2018, Thomas "Tad" Devine was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel by Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres, DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [REDACTED] and FBI Forensic Accountant [REDACTED]. Also present was Devine's attorney, [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] Garvey Schubert Barer, P.C., telephone number [REDACTED]. After being advised the identities of the interviewing parties, Devine furnished the following information:

b6
b7CBackground:

Devine has been a political media consultant/advisor since approximately 1980 when he worked on the President Jimmy Carter campaign. In addition to working on the Presidential campaigns for Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and John Kerry, Devine served as the Chief of Staff for former Providence Mayor Joseph Paolino and was an Assistant to Boston University President [REDACTED]. Devine also provided services for approximately 20 presidential elections outside of the United States. Most recently, Devine worked for Bernie Sanders.

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[REDACTED]

Since 1983, Devine has been a partner in several political media consulting firms. In or around 2007, Devine formed Devine & Mulvey [REDACTED]. In or around 2013 [REDACTED] to form Devine Mulvey and Longabauch.

b6
b7CUkraine:

In or around 2005, [REDACTED] of Davis Manafort reached out to Devine's [REDACTED] at D&D Media Inc. [REDACTED] to inquire about their interest in working in Ukraine. After speaking with Manafort on the telephone, Devine traveled to Ukraine and met with Manafort and the Party of Regions (POR). Devine recalled being impressed with the campaign team,

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~LES~~

Investigation on 07/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 07/11/2018

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/13/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

[REDACTED]

Gates [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Gates stated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Gates stated that there are things he cannot recall clearly. For example, Gates could not keep all [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In general, [REDACTED] with Gates. Gates may

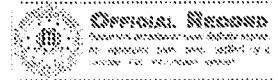
[REDACTED]

Kilimnik VisitsInvestigation on 01/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/31/2018by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/21/2018

On 10/29/2018, SA [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel. GATES' counsel, Tom Greene was present for the interview. GATES provided the following information:

b6
b7CMANAFORT's China Efforts

MANAFORT worked with [redacted] on a telephone project in China that never materialized. [redacted] technology guy was [redacted]

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[redacted]

b7A

MANAFORT had tried to get some Chinese nationals into the inauguration, but GATES said no. GATES informed [redacted] of the situation but did not know what happened after that. GATES was not aware of any Chinese money making its way into the PIC.

b6
b7A
b7CMANAFORT Ukraine Work

In 2010, DMP hired a number of people to assist with work in Ukraine, including [redacted]

[redacted] was a [redacted] who was brought in as a [redacted] to do Party of Regions groundwork.

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After the US Presidential election, GATES never heard any plans regarding Eastern Ukraine. MANAFORT asked GATES to connect [redacted] with the Ukrainian Ambassador to open a line of dialogue between DONALD TRUMP and PETRO POROSHENKO.

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MANAFORT told GATES that [redacted]
[redacted] GATES was not aware of a relationship between PATTEN and KILIMNIK.

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Investigation on 10/29/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/14/2018

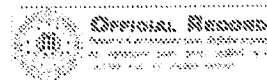
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[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2018

Richard Gates III was contacted at Sidley Austin, 1501 K Street, Washington, D.C., in the presence of his attorney, Tom Green. Present for the interview was Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Weissman, Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) [REDACTED] and Special Agent [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] After being informed of the official identities of all present, Gates provided the following information:

Gates stated that at the outset of his and Paul Manafort's work with the Trump campaign (in March 2016) the two had no control of budget or finances. Following the April 2016 primaries in which Trump took control of the Republican race, he (Trump) directed Manafort to develop state budgets. The amounts in the state budgets were minimal at first (approximately [REDACTED] to start, mostly to finance direct mailings). Larger budgets varied between [REDACTED] typically spent on media. Gradually, Gates and Manafort took more and more control of budgets as a strategy to win delegates took shape. Gates stated that the budgets (and duties) were divided during this time between Manafort and Corey Lewandowski.

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The de facto campaign "CFO" during this time was [REDACTED] [REDACTED] would track projects expending funds, and served as the first check on such expenses. [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that Trump self-financed his campaign prior to April/May 2016. Gates stated that prior to his and Manafort's arrival on the campaign, Trump loaned his campaign [REDACTED] Gates added that [REDACTED] Manafort explained to Gates that [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 10/29/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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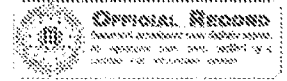
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- 1 of 1 -

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b7EUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 10/9/2018, SA [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel. Present for the interview was GATES' counsel, Tom Green. GATES provided the following information:

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[redacted] was trying to get on TRUMP's campaign. [redacted] had set up a meeting between PAUL MANAFORT and [redacted] to get MANAFORT to sell PSY Group's services to the campaign. [redacted] received the proposal, but GATES did not. GATES never discussed using front people as part of the plan. GATES did not recall any further information related to PSY Group [redacted]

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 10/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/22/2018by [redacted]b6
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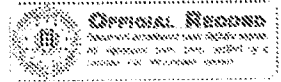
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 11/14/2018, SA [REDACTED] IA [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III telephonically. After being advised of the identities of the individuals on the call, GATES provided the following information:

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was a colleague of [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] was a [REDACTED] GATES had met [REDACTED]

A long time ago, [REDACTED] had said he was helping [REDACTED] with a project investigating a money laundering scheme.

At one point in time, [REDACTED] was working on a project that involved tracking black money in Afghanistan. This project involved a United Nations AID corollary and was trying to get support from the US government.

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[REDACTED] wanted to bring [REDACTED] in to help PAUL MANAFORT by showing [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] brought [REDACTED] into a group with some [REDACTED] people in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] asked GATES about it.

GATES last spoke to [REDACTED]

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*Following the telephonic interview, GATES provided email communications with [REDACTED] [attached as a 1A].

EX1

GATES was read a Viber exchange between himself and MANAFORT in which GATES asks about MANAFORT's meeting with "DJT". MANAFORT had told GATES that he was meeting with TRUMP to determine whether or not he could attend inauguration events.

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Investigation on 11/14/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

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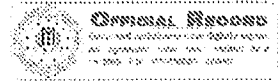
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- 1 of 2 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/17/2019

On 11/7/2018, SA [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] FOA [REDACTED]
 Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Jeannie Rhee, SASC Andrew
 Weissmann, and SASC Greg Andres interviewed Rick Gates at the Offices of
 the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview.
 Gates provided the following information:

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**** Gates was shown an email to Melania Trump on 12/30/2016 ****

During the 2016 Presidential campaign, Donald Trump's (Trump) Friends &
 Family list (the list) for people attending campaign events was broken
 down by Trump family member. Lists would come from each of Trump's
 children. Rhona Graff (Graff) handled the list from Trump himself. Melania
 Trump would check and add names. If a name was associated with a specific
 person, it would be put under their name on the list.

Graff was the gatekeeper of the list. People associated with the Trump
 family sometimes added names.

The circle of people who were able to add names to the list were
 immediate family members, close friends of immediate family members, and
 staffers of immediate family members. For example, [REDACTED]
 added people to the list. In some cases, Gates would send the lists back
 to the kids for review and the kids would say they didn't add a particular
 name on their own list.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 11/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/13/2018by [REDACTED]b3
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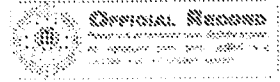
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b7EUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/13/2018

On 11/7/2018, SA [REDACTED] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg Andres and SCP Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICK GATES at the Offices of the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview. GATES provided the following information:

b6
b7CGreat America

Great America was a PAC run by COREY LEWANDOWSKI. Great America had been started with a donation of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

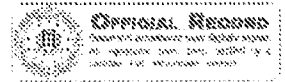
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[REDACTED] had offices in the [REDACTED] DC; his DC offices were based out of the [REDACTED] offices. [REDACTED] was [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 11/7/2018, SA [REDACTED] Senior Financial Investigator [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg D Andres, SCP Andrew A Weissmann, and DOJ Money Laundering and Asset Recovery Section Attorney Ann Brickley interviewed RICK GATES III at the Office of the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview. GATES provided the following information:

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GATES had learned about how Ukrainian politics worked from PAUL MANAFORT, [REDACTED] Ukrainian oligarchs generated wealth from the assets that they owned. Public officials were always on the take. This was consistent with GATES' experience in Ukraine.

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GATES believed that MICHAEL OKANOSKY was one of the few Ukrainian officials who seemed above-board, but OKANOSKY [REDACTED]

b6
b7CYANUKOVYCH's "Family"
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Investigation on 11/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/12/2018

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/23/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [REDACTED] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

Other Crimes

Gates was asked about any other criminal offenses he had committed.

Insider Trading

The only insider trading and/or securities fraud offenses in which Gates had been involved was related to ID Watchdog (IDW).

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b6
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[REDACTED]

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Investigation on 02/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/13/2018

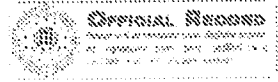
by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/28/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres presented Gates with a copy of the original proffer agreement and was initialed and dated by Andres, Gates, and Gates' attorney [REDACTED] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann then advised Gates of the terms and conditions regarding providing information to the government under the signed proffer agreement. Weissmann advised that under the terms of the agreement Gates has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. Weissmann advised that only being 90 percent truthful would violate the terms of the agreement and that it was only in Gates' interest to be 100 percent truthful. Weissmann advised that should the government and Gates not proceed with a cooperation agreement and be prosecuted, under the terms of the proffer agreement no statement made by Gates during the meeting could be used against him in the government's case-in-chief at trial except the government may use any statement made or information provided by Gates in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. Moreover, the government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Gates failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting. The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Gates during the meeting. Gates advised that he understood the terms and agreed to the terms.

b6
b7CDeripaska Lawsuit in New York

In January 2018, Manafort told Gates that Oleg Deripaska sued Manafort and Gates in New York state court in an effort to demonstrate that he was willing to help the government's investigation by being a witness against them in exchange for being granted a visa. Gates believed that this was

Investigation on 02/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
 File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/26/2018
 by [REDACTED]

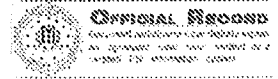
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- 1 of 4 -

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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b7EDate of entry 02/17/2019

On 02/15/2019 Special Agent [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres, Jeannie Rhee, and Andrew Weissman interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) at the Special Counsel's Office. Present for the interview was GATES's counsel, Tom Greene. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

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GATES has never seen FD-302s written related to his interviews with the Special Counsel's Office.

Polling Data Sent to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

MANAFORT directed GATES to send internal polling data from the DONALD J. TRUMP CAMPAIGN to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK (KILIMNIK), and GATES did so. The internal polling data was provided by TONY FABRIZIO (FABRIZIO). GATES utilized WHATSAPP to forward the "top line" internal polling data to KILIMNIK. [REDACTED]

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GATES understood KILIMNIK would send the internal polling data on to Ukrainian oligarchs at MANAFORT's request [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] MANAFORT wanted to show Ukrainian oligarchs that he was doing "wonders" with the TRUMP Campaign in securing the nomination. OLEG DERIPASKA was also in the mix. GATES recalled, however, that the letter to DERIPASKA was related to MANAFORT's and DERIPASKA's legal dispute. GATES does not specifically know if MANAFORT sent internal polling data to DERIPASKA.

[REDACTED] The majority of polling was done in battleground states. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] GATES recalled there would be a list of five or six states per poll.

Investigation on 02/15/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

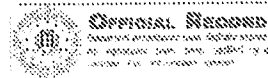
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/15/2019

by [REDACTED]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2400

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/09/2018

RICHARD GATES III (GATES) was proffered at the Office of the Special Counsel, Washington, D.C. Present for the proffer were FBI Special Agent [REDACTED], DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [REDACTED], and Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann. Also present was GATES' attorney Tom Green with the law firm Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the proffer, GATES provided the following information:

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GATES initially discussed the hiccup of signing the plea agreement over the past few days. GATES explained the prior five days have been very difficult for him and his family. He spoke at length to [REDACTED] about the ramifications of pleading guilty to the charged offenses.

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Over the past several days, GATES spoke to a number of other individuals about whether to sign the plea agreement. He first spoke to [REDACTED] who GATES considered a mentor. GATES asked [REDACTED] for advice about what to do.

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GATES also spoke to PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) three times. He spoke to MANAFORT on the phone. On Tuesday February 20, 2018, GATES told MANAFORT he was not going forward with the plea agreement. They also spoke about getting their lawyers together to talk; however, their lawyers never spoke to each other. GATES also asked MANAFORT about tapping into the Legal Defense Fund resources to help pay for some of his mounting legal expenses. MANAFORT told him to apply for the funding.

GATES also had two calls with MANAFORT on Wednesday February 21, 2018, both concerning the Legal Defense Fund. GATES told MANAFORT the Legal Defense Fund would receive his application by the end of the week. GATES was hopeful to get money from the fund before signing the plea agreement. To date, GATES had not submitted the application. GATES also contended there was nothing said between he and MANAFORT about GATES not cooperating with the Special Counsel because GATES could not afford it. MANAFORT did not know GATES intended to sign the plea agreement.

Investigation on 02/22/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File #

Date drafted 02/23/2018

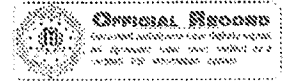
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[REDACTED]

- 1 of 2 -

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/25/2019

On 02/22/2019 Special Agent [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres and Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) via telephone. GATES's counsel THOMAS GREEN (GREEN) was not present on the call, however, the attached email communication indicated Green approved the direct contact. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

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[SASC Weissmann admonished GATES that any questions were not intended to reveal any communications with GREEN or anyone from GREEN's office. Weissmann further admonished GATES to not discuss any attorney-client privileged information of any kind during the interview; which included any information from which GATES's sole knowledge came through GREEN or GREEN's office.]

[GATES was admonished to not discuss communications between GATES and [REDACTED] [REDACTED]]

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When asked if since it had become publicly known that the U.S. Government was alleging that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had GATES had any conversations, excluding privileged, with anyone regarding the substance of the suspected violation, including the topics of [REDACTED]

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GATES recalled [REDACTED] alerted GATES to the allegation discussed above, as well, but their communication had no substance.

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GATES was not contacted by, nor did he have any substantive discussions regarding the allegation with, [REDACTED] or anyone in [REDACTED] GATES did not receive any messages from these people.

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Investigation on 02/22/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/22/2019

by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

- 1 of 17 -

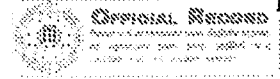
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/24/2018

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Richard William Gates III, previous identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann, Greg Andres and Brian Richardson. Present during the interview was counsel for Gates, Tom Green from Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates was advised that the interview was voluntary and the terms of his plea agreement, any responses he provided must truthful.

Communications AccountsEmail

Gates provided the following email accounts as those used by him currently, or in the past:

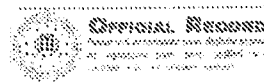
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b7CInvestigation on 02/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/28/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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FBI(19cv1278)-2408

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [REDACTED] ASAC [REDACTED] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6
b7CBank Contacts:

Gates stated that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had relationships with many banks. [REDACTED] was another contact at the banks tied to [REDACTED] Paul Manafort's (Gates didn't recall the name). According to Gates, business transactions went through [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that [REDACTED] had relationships with [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked about [REDACTED] He was not aware of [REDACTED] misleading documents or DMP P&LS.

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(At this point Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] entered the room.)

b6
b7CCampaign:

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates stated that Reince Priebus was aware of this, [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 02/28/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

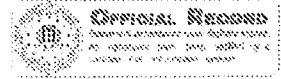
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/11/2018

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

Congressman Dana Rohrabacher

Gates was reminded about the memorandum from Manafort to "SL" dated March 23, 2013 with the subject line, "US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update" which was shown to him in a previous proffer. Gates was reminded that the metadata from this memorandum showed that Gates was the author of the document. The relevant portion of the memorandum read as follows:

"Meeting with Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (Chairman, House Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia and Emerging Threats).

The meeting with Cong Rohrabacher went well. He and I are building a plan to create a framework to promote positive interactions between the Govt of Ukraine and Rohrabachers' [sic] Subcommittee.

Cong Rohrabacher is open minded on Ukraine. He is prepared to visit Ukr to gain more understanding. He is opposed to sanctions and said he would not let the Subcommittee on Eurasia entertain any proposed legislation regarding sanctions for Ukraine."

Gates was asked why he previously said the meeting between Manafort, [redacted] and Rohrabacher in March 2013 did not relate to Ukraine.

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Investigation on 02/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/13/2018

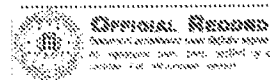
by [redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 4 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/11/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Senior Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Gates' attorney, [REDACTED] of Sidley Austin LLP, was present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates stated that he has had his present mobile telephone since December 2017. He gave his previous mobile telephone to [REDACTED]. His phone prior to that was provided to [REDACTED].

b6
b7CAugust 2016 Meeting at the Havana Club:

Gates stated that he hadn't previously read the 6/19/2017 Washington Post article, which contained a statement from Konstantin Kilimnik regarding a meeting held in New York on 8/2/2016. Gates stated that following the 8/2/2016 meeting (which was held at New York's Havana Club), Gates spoke to Paul Manafort regarding a subsequent Politico story about it. The author of the Politico article, Kenneth Vogel, had emailed a list of questions to Manafort. Manafort forwarded these questions to Gates, who answered "no" to all the questions. Gates admitted that he lied to Vogel with these responses. He had been assured no one would find out about this meeting. Gates stated that Jared Kushner became angry following the Politico article, unsure as to why Manafort would have such a meeting.

While Gates claims he can't recall many conversations with Manafort regarding the 8/2/2016 meeting, he did recall that Manafort asked him if he (Gates) had received any telephone calls about the meeting. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates did not recall whether he or Manafort reached out to Kilimnik once news articles of the meeting surfaced.

Gates noted that the 6/19/2017 Washington Post article quoted Kilimnik that he and Manafort spoke merely about unpaid bills, a general update on the political situation in Ukraine, and general news. Kilimnik insisted

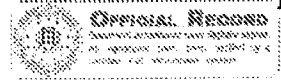
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 03/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/05/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/19/2018

On or around 3/12/2018, Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Greg Andres interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III. Also present for portions of the interview was Special Agent [redacted] and Forensic Accountant [redacted]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing team and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

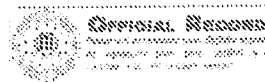
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b7CPersonal Backgroundb6
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FBI(19cv1278)-2443

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Senior Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7COverseas Travel:

{NOTE: Gates provided three expired passports of his for review.}

Gates stated that he had travelled to Germany on multiple occasions, often transiting through the country. He did meet on at least one occasion with representatives of Ukraine's Opposition Bloc in Germany.

Gates recalled two trips he made to Russia to meet with representatives of Oleg Deripaska's Pericles Fund. The two representatives [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that his travel to Zurich may have been a trip to the World Economic Forum in Davos, at which he met Deripaska in 2007. It may also have been a meeting with [REDACTED]

b6
b7CUkraine:

Gates stated that he and Manafort had a number of Ukrainian 'paymasters,' to include Rinat Akhmetov, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Among the items the group worked on was brokering a truce between Viktor Yanukovich and [REDACTED] for the 2020 elections in the country.

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Gates stated that in the 2010 elections in Ukraine, Manafort had brought in election observers and had provided polling data to [REDACTED]

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Serhiy Lyovochkin was viewed as a centrist who had conducted business deals with [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 03/16/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 03/31/2018

by [REDACTED]

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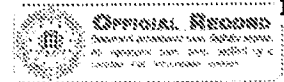
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[REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/25/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [REDACTED] ASAC [REDACTED] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6
b7CPericles Fund

The first time Gates traveled to Russia was in late 2007 or early 2008. Gates traveled from the U.S. to Moscow and stayed there for approximately two days. At Paul Manafort's direction, Gates traveled to meet [REDACTED] and B-Invest employees in Moscow regarding the Pericles investment. This meeting was scheduled soon after Oleg Deripaska and Manafort decided to create and fund Pericles. [REDACTED] was responsible for organizing logistics related to Gates' meeting with B-Invest. However, [REDACTED] did not attend the meeting. Manafort purposefully excluded [REDACTED] from the meeting because [REDACTED] was not aware of the amount of money which was invested in the Pericles, and Manafort wanted a wall between his political work portfolio and his financial work portfolio.

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Gates met with the following B-Invest employees at their Moscow office: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Pericles investment strategy. The following investment sectors were considered: (1) telecom; (2) real estate - focus on Odessa; (3) pharmaceuticals; (4) agriculture; and (5) media companies.

Approximately two to three months later, a second meeting was held in Moscow which Gates attended. Gates speculated that he traveled from Ukraine to Moscow for this meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to finalize their investment strategy, pick the top five investment targets and agree on funding for Pericles. The same people from B-Invest who attended the first meeting attended this meeting. Gates did not meet [REDACTED] during this trip.

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At approximately the end of 2008, Manafort directed Gates to attend a third meeting with B-Invest representatives in Moscow. At this meeting, Gates was advised by B-Invest that the Pericles was being put on hold and that no capital contributions were going to be made by Deripaska. Gates assumed Manafort had already heard this from Deripaska.

Ukraine

Investigation on 03/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/02/2018

by [REDACTED]

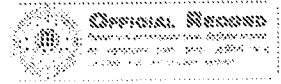
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 7 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/29/2018

Richard Gates, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were SA [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Jeannie Rhee, SASC Andrew Weissmann, IA [REDACTED] and SSA [REDACTED]. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates first joined the Trump campaign team on or about March 26, 2016. Gates said his assignment was in North Dakota.

Roger Stone helped bring Paul Manafort onto the Trump campaign team. Stone specialized in media strategy, while Manafort was the "man on the ground" focusing on things like primaries. Manafort did not know Trump that well [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked to provide context to [REDACTED] sent from Stone to Gates. [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 03/21/2018 at District of Columbia, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File #

Date drafted 04/18/2018

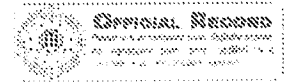
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- 1 of 2 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

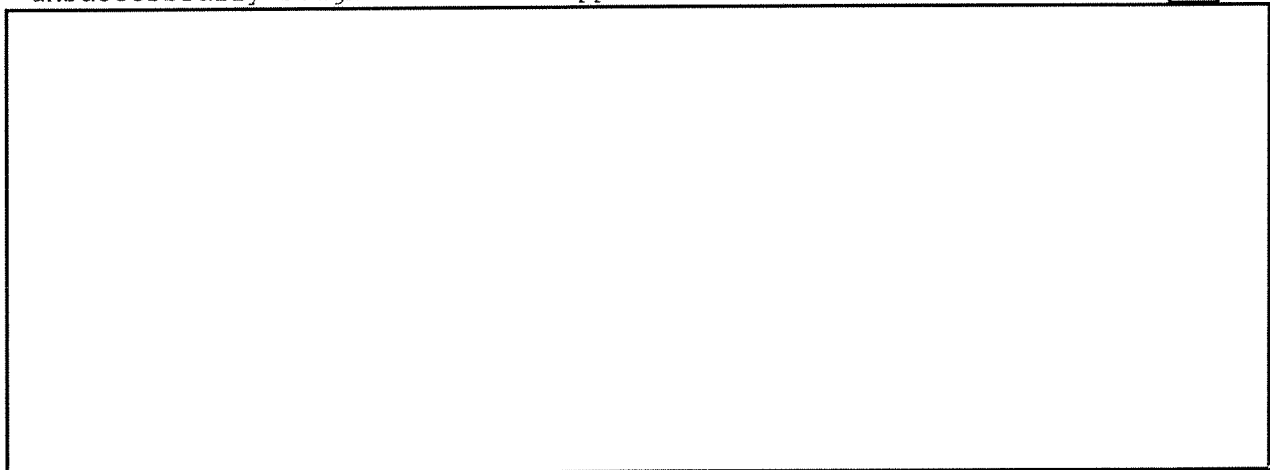
Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates indicated that [redacted] had worked with Paul Manafort and [redacted] on the [redacted] project. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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In 2014, Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) started winding down, having unsuccessfully sought to assist Opposition Block efforts in Ukraine. [redacted]

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Throughout their dealings [redacted] asked Gates to seek additional investors throughout Europe. Gates, utilized his contacts in Europe, as well as the lure of tax credits for film investments, to find investors in Ukraine and Great Britain.

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Gates understood that [redacted] had additional separate projects he was not familiar with. He did at some point meet [redacted] a former [redacted]

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Investigation on 03/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/31/2018

by [redacted]

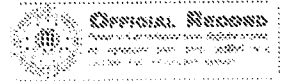
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/23/2018

On 03/18/2018, Richard GATES was interviewed, which was documented in an FD-302, Serial 445 of captioned investigation. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/17/2018by [REDACTED]b3
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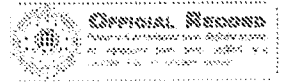
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- 1 of 1 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7A
b7EDate of entry 05/01/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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[REDACTED]

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Gates stated that Paul Manafort had [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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b7CInvestigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/24/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 3 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/22/2018

(U) On 04/17/2018 Special Agents [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres and Aaron Zelinsky interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) at the Special Counsel's Office. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

(U) GATES was shown a photograph of Theodore Malloch. GATES did not believe he knew the person or had met the person in the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) campaign or at TRUMP campaign headquarters. GATES recognized the person in the photograph from recent appearances in the news.

(U) GATES recalled BOB MCLAUGHLIN (ph), a tall Congressman from the State of Georgia. GATES' recollection involved JEROME CORSI (CORSI). GATES [REDACTED] They met related to CPAC and MCLAUGHLIN was on a subcommittee of CPAC which GATES said he could find by looking at open sources related to CORSI. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] They had no discussions related to the hack of DNC emails or Wikileaks.

(U) GATES was sure there was an opposition document related to TRUMP but did not recall any specifics. He did not recall anyone, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] talking about an opposition document. GATES did not think it was a single codified document, but more a collection of opposition research. The discussions would have been about TRUMP needing to worry about this or that as opposed to an exact document.

(U) They heard lots of things about DNC opposition research, but again not a document. It was information held by specific people like [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

(U) The TRUMP campaign did not receive a lot of assistance from the RNC until TRUMP became the nominee. Before then, they experienced opposition from both the left and the right.

Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

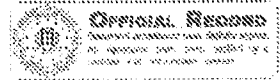
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/24/2018

by [REDACTED]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2472

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/30/2018

RICHARD GATES, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Also present in the interview were SSA [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Greg Andres, and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

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GATES was shown a photograph (enclosed) of [REDACTED] and asked if he recognized the person shown. GATES advised he did not recognize the individual in the photograph. GATES was then asked if

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[REDACTED] GATES said it was not uncommon for people seeking meetings to contact RHONA GRAFF directly. Most often, GRAFF would forward these requests to GATES.

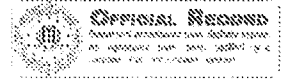
GATES advised JARED KUSHNER and JASON GREENBLATT took the lead on campaign matters related to the Jewish community and wanted GATES to set up a Jewish coalition to support the campaign. GATES said KUSHNER mentioned Israelis quite often. GATES recalled hearing the name WALID PHARES. GATES further advised [REDACTED] had numerous private conversations with DONALD TRUMP and KUSHNER.

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b7C~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~Investigation on 04/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/23/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date of entry 05/04/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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[redacted]

In 2017, at the direction of [redacted] Gates and [redacted] [redacted] formed an entity called [redacted] This entity was formed as a vehicle for [redacted] to invest in [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Investigation on 04/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018

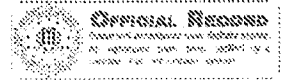
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by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/05/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6
b7CLedgers/Accounts:

Gates stated that he met [REDACTED] on one occasion at Paul Manafort's home. Gates believed that [REDACTED] was on the company's health care plan, possibly listed as an employee.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

b6
b7CWork with Poroshenko:

In 2014, following the departure of Viktor Yanukovich from Ukraine, there was a chaotic interval (from March 2014 until December 2014) in which Manafort was retained by Petro Poroshenko. The two eventually split over a financial dispute.

[REDACTED]:

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

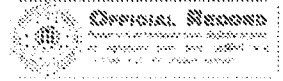
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Investigation on 05/24/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/04/2018

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/11/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres, and Forensic Accountant [REDACTED]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7C

Gates stated that Paul Manafort divided up funds amongst [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These fiscal moves were typically done by either Gates or [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] that, upon receiving bank statements, would prepare financial statements to justify money movements. Gates and Manafort worked with [REDACTED] in 2009 to 2010, though no engagement letter was signed with that company. [REDACTED] had accounts in St. Vincent & Grenadines.

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Gates stated that following the election of Viktor Yanukovich in Ukraine, Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) entered into a \$1 million per quarter consulting agreement with the administration. This agreement was forwarded to DMP by [REDACTED] for Sergey Lyovochkin who is based in Cyprus.

b6
b7C

In their dealings with Ukrainian clients in creating new contracts, Manafort would initially forward the terms of the contract to Gates. Gates would draft a contract, which would then be sent to Konstantin Kilimnik for translation prior to being sent to the other party.

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Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 05/09/2018

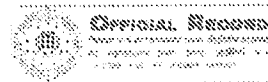
by [REDACTED]

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- 1 of 2 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/23/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Greg Andres and Brandon Van Grack. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7C

Throughout the spring of 2016, the Trump campaign sought surrogates to speak on its behalf on various topics. By mid-April 2016 principal among these were Jeff Sessions, Larry Kudlow, Rudolph Giuliani, and Mike Flynn. Gates described Flynn as the "chief surrogate" of Trump who traveled with the candidate often, including to several rallies in the South.

Gates could not recall anything about a 6/30/2016 meeting between Paul Manafort and Flynn in New York. Gates first met Flynn in person on the campaign plane. Gates had previously emailed and telephoned Flynn and [redacted] regarding campaign logistics.

b6

b7C

Gates could not recall a specific telephone call with Flynn on 6/23/2016. Gates was shown an email dated 6/23/2018 between Flynn and [redacted] arranging a telephone call. Gates opined the call may have taken place to coordinate logistics. Gates recalled that Flynn had discussed contacting consultants on matters such as opposition research, and sought to identify additional surrogates. He was unsure whether Flynn discussed social media matters.

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b7C

Upon being shown a one page document titled "The MediaMeter," a business proposal on social media, Gates stated he "vaguely" recalled the document, but added that everyone was trying to bring their own contacts and proposals to the campaign. Gates stated that Brad Parscales handled the bulk of social media work for the campaign. Gates stated he did not recall meeting with a company at the request of Flynn.

Gates was present on the campaign plane when Flynn spoke to Trump regarding his views on the weakness of the U.S. intelligence agencies. Gates believed Flynn was personally bitter for having been fired from his

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File #

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Date drafted 05/07/2018

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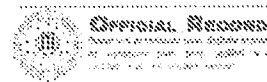
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- 1 of 2 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/08/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6
b7CJuly 2014 Interview:

Gates stated that he was previously interviewed by the FBI in July 2014. At the time, the U.S. DOJ was working with Ukrainian authorities examining the movement of assets by Viktor Yanukovich. Gates was interviewed first, followed by Paul Manafort. Gates stated that he provided the interviewers with names of accounts and individuals he dealt with in Ukraine.

DMP:

Gates reiterated that the principals of Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) were [REDACTED] and Paul Manafort. [REDACTED] held no equity in the firm. Gates described himself as an employee of DMP. He received W2s from the company during his time there.

b6
b7A
b7CUkraine:

[REDACTED] was DMP's principal when they first entered into business in Ukraine. Eventually, when [REDACTED] Manafort remained to handle Ukrainian matters.

b6
b7C

Gates stated that the Party of Regions was a successful political party in Ukraine for a five year stretch. Sergey Lyovochkin, Chief of Staff for Yanukovich, was among the party's leaders. [REDACTED] was considered a "#2" in the party handling nationwide campaigns.

b6
b7C

Gates met [REDACTED] a few times while working on the campaign of [REDACTED]. Gates met [REDACTED] a few times as well.

Gates stated that Kilimnik worked in the Moscow office of the International Republican Institute (IRI), whose stated goal was to foster democracy as a NGO which enjoyed bi-partisan support. John McCain was a Chairman of the IRI.

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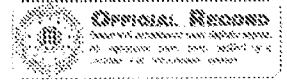
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/12/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewer and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7C

Gates stated that Donald Trump 'hated' Nikki Haley. Gates stated that it was known among Trump's advisors that [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Vice President Mike Pence has all the ties in Congress amongst the administration. Gates pointed out that President Trump and Senator Mitch McConnell hated each other.

Gates believes that Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin, as well as several other cabinet members, merely accepted their roles to obtain a divestment tax credit for their portfolios.

Gates stated that he had discussed two deals with Timur Sapir in the past.

[REDACTED]

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Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/11/2018

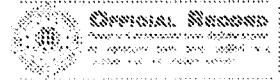
by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6
b7CContacts:

Since last being interviewed, Gates spoke to [REDACTED] three times (once alone and twice in the presence of [REDACTED]). Gates has also had one conversation with [REDACTED] and two conversations with Maggie Haberman.

b6
b7C

Last week, Gates exchanged a text message with Brad Parscale over being named in a lawsuit filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

PIC:

[REDACTED] and Wiley-Rein were the legal representatives for the Presidential Inauguration Committee.

b6
b7CAntes:

Gates identified Antes as a Bahamian entity tied to Paul Manafort.

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Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

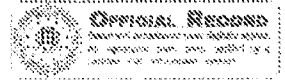
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/08/2018

by [REDACTED]

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- 1 of 1 -



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/04/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] The job was previously held
[REDACTED] Gates stated that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Gates stated that [REDACTED] That job, he believed, was done by [REDACTED] if needed.

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Investigation on 05/31/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/01/2018

by [REDACTED]

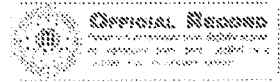
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- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/26/2018

On Wednesday, June 13, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

b6
b7C

Since his last meeting with the Office of the Special Counsel, Gates has been in contact with [REDACTED]

Gates could not recall the name and/or ever meeting [REDACTED]

Gates acknowledged he was aware of [REDACTED]

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~LES~~

Investigation on 06/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/18/2018

by [REDACTED]

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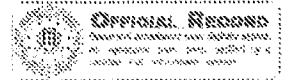
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- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/03/2018

On Wednesday, June 20, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel in preparation for [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

Prior to pleading guilty, [REDACTED] Paul Manafort [REDACTED] told Gates he had to be careful with his new attorney, Tom Green, because [REDACTED]

b6
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Manafort and Gates were both [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

As far as Gates was aware, DMP International was 100% owned by Paul Manafort.

Gates stated [REDACTED]

b7A

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7A

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Investigation on 06/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/28/2018

by [REDACTED]

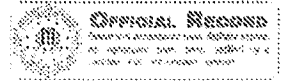
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- 1 of 1 -



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/03/2018

On Wednesday, June 27, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
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[REDACTED]

b6
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[REDACTED]

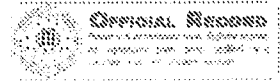
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b7EInvestigation on 06/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/28/2018by [REDACTED]

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- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/18/2018

On Thursday, July 5, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres, FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. The following information was furnished:

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b7C

Since his last meeting with the Office of the Special Counsel on July 5, 2018, Gates has been in contact with [REDACTED] regarding a potential news article about Gates, [REDACTED] in the NY Times.

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Note: After approximately two hours SA [REDACTED] left and [REDACTED] took over.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Investigation on 07/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 07/14/2018

by [REDACTED]

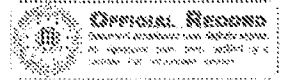
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[REDACTED]

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- 1 of 3 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/12/2018

Richard W. Gates III, previously identified, was interviewing telephonically by FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] FBI Contractor [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissman and Greg Andres. Present on the call during the interview was Gates' counsel, Tom Green. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates was not involved in the distribution of funds as it related to the Presidential Inaugural Committee (PIC). Gates was not involved in the financial/budget decisions for the PIC either. [REDACTED]

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While testifying at Paul Manafort's trial in the Eastern District of Virginia (EDVA), Gates said it was "possible" that he submitted a false expense report to the PIC [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
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[REDACTED]

b6
b7A
b7C

Gates did not like or get along with [REDACTED] When [REDACTED] initially joined the PIC, she got mad at Gates because Gates did not [REDACTED] Gates also did not like [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

Investigation on 08/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)File [REDACTED] Date drafted 09/10/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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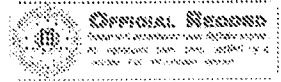
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- 1 of 3 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/23/2018

On or around 9/27/2018, SA [REDACTED] Special Counsel Prosecutors (SCP) Greg Andres and Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel, Thomas C Green. Green was present for the interview. After being advised of the identity of the interview team, GATES provided the following information:

b6
b7CBlack Caviar Email

GATES was shown the above-referenced email (attached as a 1A).

"V" was a reference to VICTOR BOYARKIN. GATES understood BOYARKIN to be OLEG DERIPASKA's security person.

Fine caviar and fine vodka were common gifts in Ukraine. The only time GATES recalled any of DMP's clients giving PAUL MANAFORT caviar was a story that [REDACTED]

b6
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b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The largest payments that DMP had received for its Ukraine work had come from [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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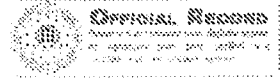
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/26/2018

On or around 9/27/2018, SA [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg Andres, Assistant US Attorneys [REDACTED] and Trial Attorney [REDACTED] from DOJ's Counterintelligence and Export Control Section interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel, Tom Green. Green was present for the interview. After being advised of the identity of the interview team, GATES provided the following information:

b6
b7CGenesis of MANAFORT lobbying for Party of Regions

PAUL MANAFORT had tried to pitch a lobbying campaign to VICTOR YANUKOVYCH and SERGEI LYOVCHENKO in advance of the elections in 2007 or 2008, but was unsuccessful. MANAFORT had pitched. GATES had helped draft a memo on this topic that had then been given to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK for translation.

In 2011 or 2012, YANUKOVYCH signed off on a lobbying campaign. GATES opined that at this time, YANUKOVYCH was in a financially better position and that he had more trust in MANAFORT from their work together.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Investigation on 09/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

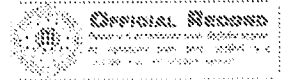
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 10/01/2018

by [REDACTED]

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UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/12/2018

Robert Ian Goldstone, DOB: [REDACTED] 1500 Washington Street, 2W, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030, 917 743-1438, was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington D.C. Also present were attorneys [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of Gage, Spencer and Fleming, Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson, Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Intelligence Analysts [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and Staff Operations Specialist [REDACTED]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GOLDSTONE provided the following information:

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

Some of GOLDSTONE'S clients include [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

EMIN AGALAROV [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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In 2012 GOLDSTONE started working for EMIN AGALAROV. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/09/2018

by [REDACTED]

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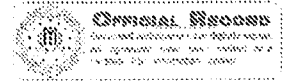
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/01/2019

Jeffrey Duane GORDON, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] cellular telephone number [REDACTED] email address of [REDACTED] was interviewed at the FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th St NW, Washington D.C. GORDON was accompanied by his attorney, [REDACTED]. Present for the interview were Special Agent [REDACTED] Supervisory Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee, and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GORDON provided the following information:

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

During the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting TRUMP had said that he didn't want to have World War III over Ukraine and that he wanted better relations with Russia. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 02/14/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/14/2019

by [REDACTED]

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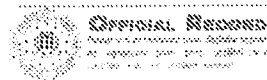
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2017

JEFFERY D. GORDON (GORDON), date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), Washington Field Office (WFO), 601 4th Street NW, Washington, DC 20535 on August 29, 2017. GORDON's telephone number is [REDACTED] and his email address is [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] GORDON was advised that the nature of the interview was to discuss activities related to Russia and the 2016 Presidential campaign. GORDON was advised that false statements to the FBI were a violation of federal law and that his statements must be true and accurate to the best of his knowledge. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, GORDON provided the following information:

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GORDON was glad the interviewing Agents were speaking with him as he believed there were a lot of shenanigans happening at the highest levels. Specifically, GORDON was upset that the administration had not been truthful in the media with regards to contact with Russians. GORDON has kept apprised of the information about Russia in the news and relayed his willingness to fully cooperate with the Special Counsel investigation.

Background

GORDON served as a Commander in the Navy and formerly held the position of spokesperson for the US DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD) at the Pentagon. During his prior service and employment, GORDON interacted with many foreign governments on an official capacity. Upon his departure from the US DOD, three separate governments held going away parties in GORDON's honor; Finland, Yemen, and Canada. GORDON received approval to attend those events and coordinated with U.S. Government agencies for the event held at the Yemeni consulate. All of the events were held at their respective foreign consulates or embassies.

GORDON now operates his own consulting business, called J.D. GORDON COMMUNICATIONS, LLC. GORDON has been a political guest speaker on a variety of media outlets, such as FOX NEWS and the WASHINGTON TIMES.

Investigation on 08/29/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 09/01/2017

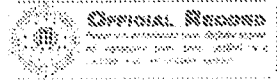
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- 1 of 14 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/16/2018

On Tuesday, January 9, 2018, JONATHAN HAWKER (HAWKER) was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [REDACTED] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Andrew A. Weissmann and Greg D. Andres and Assistant Special Counsel Brian M. Richardson. Also present were HAWKER's attorneys, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Hunton & Williams LLP, 2200 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington DC, telephone number (202) 955-1500. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, HAWKER provided the following information:

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NOTE: Special Agent [REDACTED] and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andres were only present for the morning portion of the interview of HAWKER.

Prior to the interview commencing, Attorney [REDACTED] advised he represented both HAWKER and HAWKER's former employer, FTI Consulting.

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Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann advised HAWKER that his participation in the interview was voluntary. HAWKER was also advised that he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a Federal agent could constitute a Federal crime. HAWKER verbally acknowledged that he understood.

HAWKER BACKGROUND
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Investigation on 01/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/10/2018

by [REDACTED]

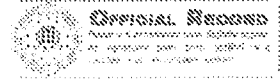
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

(U) On 02/01/2018 Special Agents [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky interviewed JACOB HEILBRUNN (HEILBRUNN) at The Special Counsel's Office in Washington, DC. Present for the interview were Heilbrunn's counsel, [REDACTED]. The interview was pursuant to a proffer agreement. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, HEILBRUNN provided the following information:

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/05/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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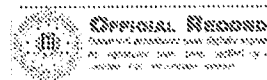
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- 1 of 3 -

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/30/2017

(U//~~FOUO~~) Rachel Mary HOFF, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security number [redacted] residence [redacted] [redacted] was interviewed by SAs [redacted] [redacted] at the FBI Washington Field Office on May 26, 2017. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, HOFF provided the following information:

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(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF was a delegate for the District of Columbia at the 2016 Republican National Convention (RNC). HOFF explained her first time being a delegate at the RNC was in the 2012 election cycle. The 2016 RNC was HOFF's first time on a Platform Committee. HOFF worked on the National Security and Defense Platform Committee. Her full-time employment was working [redacted] where she was employed during the time of the RNC up until approximately [redacted] [redacted] HOFF informed the interviewing agents she began employment with [redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF explained the National Security and Defense Platform Committee worked for approximately two days. According to HOFF the room was filled with delegates to the RNC, certain members of the media or VIP staff, one RNC paid transcriber, two volunteers from the Republican National Committee, and two members from the 2016 Trump Campaign. However, HOFF stated only delegates were permitted to take part in the formal discussions on what the platform should state. HOFF believed the non-delegates in the room may interject their opinions or ideas informally to delegates during breaks or outside of the official Platform Committee meeting room. According to HOFF the two Republican National Committee staffers were [redacted] and the Trump Campaign members were JD Gordon and an individual who's name was unknown to her. According to HOFF, [redacted] [redacted] works on Capitol Hill as a staffer for an unknown congressman or senator.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF informed the interviewing agents she had met JD Gordon previously but still is unaware who the other Trump Campaign staffer is. According to HOFF, she had limited interaction with JD Gordon during

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Investigation on 05/26/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/26/2017

by [redacted]

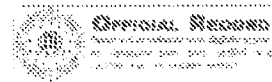
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Date of entry 12/15/2017

JAMES M. HOSKINS JR., date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] social security account number (SSAN) [REDACTED] was interviewed at his residence, [REDACTED] HOSKINS was advised the nature of the interview was to discuss a foreign policy meeting he attended for the DONALD J. TRUMP campaign on March 31, 2016. HOSKINS was further advised intentionally providing false statements to the interviewing Agents would be a violation of federal law. After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identities of the interviewing Agents, HOSKINS provided the following information:

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HOSKINS acknowledged his presence at the meeting on March 31, 2016. The agents showed HOSKINS a photograph which was taken at the meeting. The Agents then advised of a recent Washington Post article which alleged GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS had introduced the concept of arranging a meeting between then-Candidate TRUMP and Russian president, VLADIMIR PUTIN.

HOSKINS immediately identified PAPADOPOULOS in the photograph and stated to the best of his recollection, he remembered everyone at the meeting went around the table and introduced themselves. When it was PAPADOPOULOS' turn, he said something to the effect of "Mr. PUTIN would like to meet you," which was almost immediately met with a response of "no you shouldn't" from the others in the room. HOSKINS remembered the response happened microseconds after PAPADOPOULOS proposed the idea. HOSKINS couldn't recall who had spoke first but surmised it was likely JEFF SESSIONS who was the first to say no to PAPADOPOULOS. That was the first and last time HOSKINS saw PAPADOPOULOS.

HOSKINS further identified SESSIONS, [REDACTED] J.D. GORDON, [REDACTED] and KEITH KELLOGG in the photograph. SESSIONS invited HOSKINS to the meeting to discuss topics related to intelligence and cyber activities. During the meeting, HOSKINS expressed that Russia, China, terrorism in the Middle East, and North Korea would all be continued threats in the immediate future. HOSKINS spoke after PAPADOPOULOS.

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HOSKINS did not remember the topic of the Ukraine being brought up at any time. He rather recalled the focus of the meeting was on the nuclear

Investigation on 09/14/2017 at Reston, Virginia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 12/14/2017

by [REDACTED]

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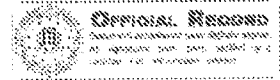
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [REDACTED]

REASON: 1.4 (C)

DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2042

DATE: 02-11-2020

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date of entry 10/05/2017

Jason James Miller, date of birth [REDACTED] was interviewed at the law offices of Greenberg Traurig, at 2101 L. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Miller was accompanied by his personal counsel, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
and email address [REDACTED] from the law offices of Greenberg Traurig. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agents (SA) [REDACTED] and Special Counsel's Office attorneys Brandon VanGrack and Zainab Ahmad. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing team and the purpose of the interview, Miller provided the following information:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

Investigation on 08/31/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 08/31/2017

by [REDACTED]

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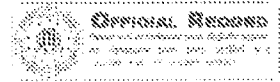
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[REDACTED]

- 1 of 6 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/01/2018

Olga Kalashnikova, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. SSA [REDACTED] IA [REDACTED] and Special Prosecutor Brian Richardson were present for the interview. Kalashnikova was represented by [REDACTED] of the law firm Bryan Cave Leighton Paisner. Kalashnikova was presented with a proffer agreement which she and her attorney, [REDACTED] signed and dated. Special Prosecutor Richardson explained the proffer agreement to Kalashnikova and her and her attorney advised they had no questions regarding the agreement. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Kalashnikova provided the following information:

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Kalashnikova was born in [REDACTED] She lived in [REDACTED] until [REDACTED] when she moved to [REDACTED] to attend [REDACTED] She graduated with a degree in [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 05/17/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 05/21/2018
by [REDACTED]

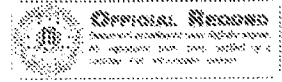
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/23/2018

ZALMAY KHALILZAD, former United States (U.S.) Ambassador and current Board of Directors member of CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Baker & Hostetler, LLP, 1050 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036 by Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [REDACTED] Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and ASC Andrew Goldstein. Accompanying KHALILZAD was CNI's outside counsel attorneys [REDACTED] from Baker & Hostetler, LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, KHALILZAD executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

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From 2003 to 2005, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan. b5 per DOJ/OIP
From 2005 to 2007, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. From 2007 to 2009, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations (UN). b6
[REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 01/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/09/2018by SA [REDACTED]b6
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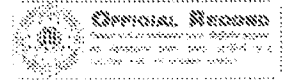
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/11/2018

(U) On 08/30/2018 Special Agents (SA) [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] interviewed DAVID N. KLEIN (KLEIN) at the French Press Coffee Roasters Uptown at 95 E Kennedy Blvd, Lakewood, NJ 08701. The interview was establish via a telephone call to [REDACTED]. During the phone call, KLEIN stated he was willing to talk with the FBI, had concerns about speaking to the FBI without an attorney present, but he could not afford an attorney. KLEIN stated he would meet with the SAs but reserved the right to not answer any questions or could stop the interview to consult with an attorney. In person and prior to the interview, SA [REDACTED] reiterated to KLEIN the interview was entirely voluntary and KLEIN could stop the interview at any time. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing SAs and the purpose of the interview, KLEIN provided the following information:

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(U) During the 2016 Presidential Election, DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) had a lot of support from people in Lakewood, NJ. KLEIN is from Los Angeles, CA and had a [REDACTED] with JASON GREENBLATT (GREENBLATT), TRUMP's one-time attorney. KLEIN reached out to GREENBLATT offering assistance to the TRUMP CAMPAIGN, but GREENBLATT never followed up with KLEIN.

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(U) KLEIN felt he could represent the people of Lakewood's interests to the TRUMP CAMPAIGN because KLEIN knows the players in Lakewood, NJ. [REDACTED]

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(U) KLEIN recalled that before and during the run-up to the 2016 election there was interest in improving relations between Russia and the United States (U.S.) unlike today. KLEIN felt it made sense to have a friendly relationship with Russia. KLEIN recalled SECRETARY HILLARY CLINTON's "reset" with Russia.

(U) KLEIN is Orthodox Jewish and thought he could reach out to assist in improving U.S.-Russian relations through that community. KLEIN searched online and found RABBI BEREL LAZAR (LAZAR), the Chief Rabbi of Russia. KLEIN found LAZAR's email address online and contacted LAZAR. LAZAR's office reached out to KLEIN that LAZAR was planning a trip to the U.S.

Investigation on 08/30/2018 at Lakewood, New Jersey, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 08/31/2018by [REDACTED]

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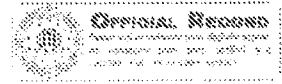
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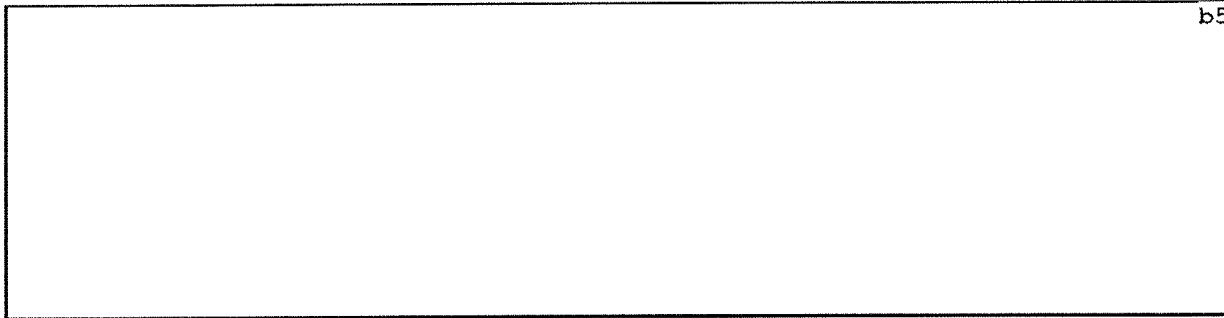
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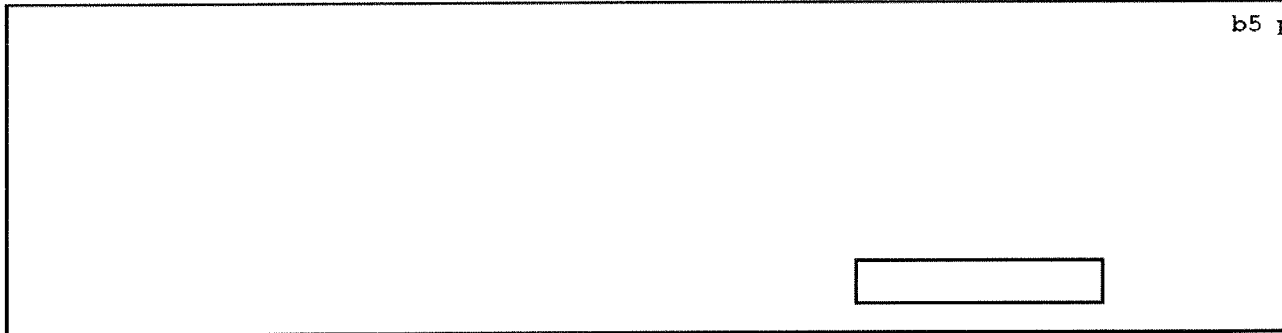
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

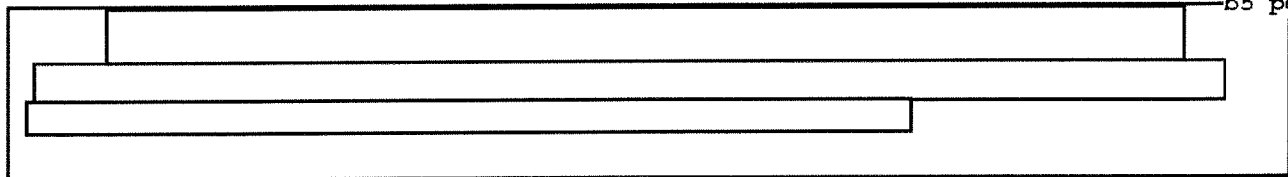
(U) On 02/27/2018 Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] with Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky interviewed LENDWOOD LANDRUM AKA PETE LANDRUM (LANDRUM) at the Special Counsel's Office in Washington, DC. LANDRUM's counsel, [redacted] and [redacted] were also present. ASC Zelinsky admonished LANDRUM that it is a crime to lie to the FBI, that this interview was voluntary, and that any questions asked were not intended to elicit information discussed with LANDRUM's counsel. [redacted] stated that LANDRUM was prepped on the documents perviously provided. [redacted] stated that LANDRUM would be happy to research any other information and provide it. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, LANDRUM provided the following information:

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b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7CInvestigation on 02/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/01/2018by [redacted] SA [redacted]b6
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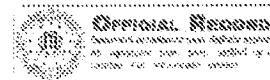
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/22/2017

COREY LEWANDOWSKI, date of birth [REDACTED] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [REDACTED] was interviewed on November 8, 2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation - Special Counsel's office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present during the interview were LEWANDOWSKI's Attorney [REDACTED] FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] Special Counsel Attorney JEANNIE RHEE, Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN.

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Prior to the interview, LEWANDOWSKI and his attorney were provided with the attached show documents to review for approximately two hours at the interview location. They were allowed to review the documents at the FBI office but did not receive a copy of the documents. At the beginning of the interview, LEWANDOWSKI signed the attached agreement and was informed that making intentional false statements to the SAs could result in federal charges. LEWANDOWSKI then provided the following information:

LEWANDOWSKI initially became involved in the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) presidential campaign when he was the National Director for Voter Registration in Manchester, NH. In April 2014, he was involved in an event for 2016 presidential candidates and DAVID BOSSIE of CITIZENS UNITED asked LEWANDOWSKI about joining the TRUMP campaign.

LEWANDOWSKI met with TRUMP in January 2015 and then became the Senior Political Advisor working with the TRUMP ORGANIZATION until the official campaign was stood up. Then LEWANDOWSKI became the Campaign Manager for the TRUMP presidential campaign. LEWANDOWSKI was paid approximately [REDACTED] base salary with the opportunity for bonuses. The bonuses were [REDACTED] for each state if TRUMP won the primaries for Iowa, New Hampshire, or South Carolina. The bonus was [REDACTED] if TRUMP placed second in those states. These payments were negotiated with TRUMP prior to the campaign being stood up.

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At the time LEWANDOWSKI was brought on, he and [REDACTED] were the only paid campaign team members. [REDACTED] was involved in the campaign

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Investigation on 11/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/09/2017

by [REDACTED]

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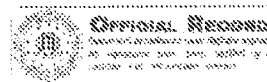
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 7 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/21/2018

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(U) On 1/30/2018 SANDRA LUFF was interviewed by Special Agent [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels Andrew Goldstein and Aaron Zelinsky at the Office of Special Counsel (SCO), 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20024. Accompanying LUFF was her attorney [redacted]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing officials and the nature of the interview, LUFF provided the following information:

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(U) LUFF currently works for [redacted]. LUFF speaks infrequently with Attorney General Jefferson Sessions and the last time they spoke was in early December 2017 at a mutual acquaintance's retirement party. Before that, they probably saw each other a few months prior at another social gathering. LUFF worked for Senator Sessions for 8 years, the last 6 as his legislative director and the first 2 as his national security advisor. As legislative director, her job was to maintain watch on all legislation moving through congress and to assist Senator Sessions with offering solutions to bills or writing the bills themselves. LUFF [redacted] and was offered a position with Senator John Warner working with the Armed Services Committee. Around the time Senator Warner retired in January 2009, Rick Dearborn, Sessions' chief of staff, offered LUFF a position with Sessions.

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(U) Sessions' office had teams for the various committees he served on, such as agriculture, budget, judiciary, defense, etc. Foreign policy fit under the defense team. LUFF sometimes traveled with Sessions on foreign trips and trips back to Alabama. The outreach and travel to foreign countries was conducted as part of congressional delegations (CODELS) or meetings with foreign dignitaries.

(U) Sessions was the first senator to endorse Donald Trump for president. Sessions was later tapped in February or March 2016 to head Trump's national security team. LUFF was unfamiliar with how Sessions was chosen, but opined it was a dynamic, unofficial process. LUFF thought someone from the campaign told Sessions to handle the national security team. LUFF did not receive updates from the Trump campaign while she worked for Senator Sessions.

Investigation on 01/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/30/2018by [redacted]b3
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/06/2017

MATTHEW MILLER, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] social security account number (SSAN) [REDACTED] was interviewed on October 25, 2017 at the U.S. Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20210. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, MILLER provided the following information:

MILLER started off on the TRUMP presidential campaign as a Pennsylvania state director in the primaries. Then he became the National Director of Vets for Trump.

At the Republican National Convention (Convention), there were three GOP Platform buckets - economic, social and national defense. J.D. GORDON and MILLER were involved in the national defense committee meetings with a third campaign individual who was an attorney serving as the parliamentary expert but MILLER can not recall that individual's name. GORDON was the head campaign representative and MILLER was the second. [REDACTED] was the co-chair.

Numerous amendments were proposed at the committee meeting MILLER was in. One of them was presented by DIANA DENMAN, a [REDACTED] year old woman who was very supportive of freedom fighters and worked in movies with RONALD REAGAN. DENMAN's amendment involved committing the U.S. to defend Ukraine with all means possible if Russia attacked. Some of the amendments passed and others were defeated but the Ukraine amendment was tabled until later. The tabling of this amendment during that meeting is the first time MILLER discussed the topic of the amendment.

MILLER doesn't recall if GORDON talked to the chairman about tabling the amendment. It was as non-nefarious as it comes since the NATO mentality was if you attack one you attack all and it shouldn't just fall on the U.S. to defend Ukraine. MILLER didn't think it made sense for the platform to lock the president in to making such a significant commitment to defend Ukraine. GORDON talked to DENMAN about lightening the amendment and eventually the lightened version passed the vote.

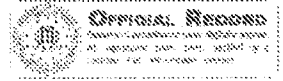
Investigation on 10/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 11/09/2017

by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Jeannie S. Rhee, Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres; and Assistant United States Attorney [REDACTED] Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [REDACTED] FBI SA [REDACTED] advised Manafort of his rights. Manafort stated that he understood his rights and that he was willing to answer questions. Manafort signed a FD-395, Advise of Rights. FBI SA [REDACTED] advised Manafort that it was a crime to lie to the FBI. Manafort stated that he understood. ASC Weissmann reviewed the terms of a letter setting forth the agreement upon which Manafort made himself available for interview. Manafort, Downing and ASC Weissmann signed the letter agreement. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

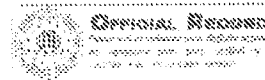
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Manafort read from a typewritten statement regarding his conduct as it related to the Counts alleged in the Eastern District of Virginia and the District of Columbia. The statement will be maintained in the 1-A section of this casefile. [REDACTED]

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At the end of February or beginning of March 2016, Manafort and Tom Barrack were in California. Manafort told Barrack things that he thought the Trump Campaign was doing wrong. Barrack asked Manafort if Manafort was interested in running the Campaign. Barrack and Manafort had a series of calls during the next couple of weeks. At the middle or end of March 2016, Donald Trump called Manafort to discuss Manafort joining the

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Jeannie S. Rhee, Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres; and Assistant United States Attorney [REDACTED] Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [REDACTED] FBI SA [REDACTED] advised Manafort of his rights. Manafort stated that he understood his rights and that he was willing to answer questions. Manafort signed a FD-395, Advise of Rights. ASC Weissmann reviewed the terms of a letter setting forth the agreement upon which Manafort made himself available for interview. Manafort, Downing and ASC Weissmann initialed the letter agreement. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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Manafort knew that if Trump got elected, there would be opportunities for him to make money. After Trump was elected, Manafort traveled to the Middle East, Cuba, Korea, Japan and China where he got paid to explain what a Trump presidency would be like. In mid-2017, a Ukrainian candidate for President, [REDACTED] approached Manafort about political consulting.

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Manafort asked Konstantin Kilimnik to track down documents related to the indictments against Manafort, including contracts and ECFMU brochures. Manafort and Kilimnik communicated using encrypted applications such as Viber, Signal, WhatsApp and others. They started using the applications over a concern that people in the Ukraine and Russia were hacking their accounts. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] After he was indicted, Manafort purchased a "pay" phone to talk with Kilimnik and Gates. The pay phone did not have any applications on it. About six months ago, Manafort got a cellphone [REDACTED] In September or October 2017, a BBC reporter, First Name Unknown (FNU) Woods, called Manafort on his [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] phone number. [REDACTED]

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Investigation on 09/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

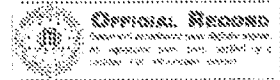
File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 09/17/2018

by [REDACTED]

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- 1 of 8 -

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] FBI Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [REDACTED]. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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Manafort used encrypted applications to communicate, typically at the recommendation of Rick Gates. Manafort does not recall his usernames or passwords for the applications. [REDACTED] Manafort will work with his counsel to prepare a list of usernames and passwords for his communication accounts.

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Manafort primarily used two iPhones to communicate. The phones were assigned telephone numbers [REDACTED]. Manafort purchased a pay-as-you-go Boost phone last year. Manafort does not recall its assigned number.

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Manafort had WhatsApp on his [REDACTED] cellphones. Manafort used WhatsApp to communicate with people in Europe. At Gates's suggestion, Manafort downloaded Telegram but he never used it. Manafort used Wickr for communications with people in the Middle East. Manafort recently used Signal to communicate with Konstantin Kilimnik. Manafort used Threema to communicate with [REDACTED] and individuals in China. Manafort did not recall whether he used Threema to communicate with Gates. Manafort used Skype for personal communications with his family members. Manafort used Snapchat only for social networking. Manafort used Viber in Ukraine. Manafort also used Viber for communications related to the Trump Campaign. Manafort used Hushmail to communicate with Kilimnik and Gates. Manafort used WeChat to communicate with people in China. At [REDACTED] suggestion, Manafort used Voxer, but only for a couple of days in 2017. Zello sounds familiar but Manafort does not recall using it. [REDACTED]

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b7EUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 09/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 09/20/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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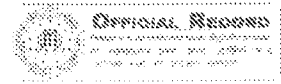
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] FBI Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [REDACTED]. After being advised of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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Manafort talked to [REDACTED] to get the story out regarding the Ukraine platform fight at the Republican National Convention. Manafort briefed Trump about the issue along with other post-convention matters. Manafort does not believe that Trump knew about the floor fight until after the convention. Konstantin Kilimnik asked about the platform language at some point, but Manafort does not recall the details of their conversation.

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Trump publicly stated that the people of Crimea wanted to be part of Russia. Trump and Manafort had not talked about Russia policy before Trump made this statement. Trump follows the news a lot and probably read this view somewhere and then repeated it. Manafort told Trump that Manafort disagreed with the statement. Manafort gave Trump a brief history on Ukraine. Trump does not generally like to commit on foreign policy issues until a specific scenario arises. Trump believes that he can solve foreign policy disputes by avoiding the bureaucratic logjam and having face-to-face meetings.

Trump and Manafort did not have a lot of policy discussions. Manafort and Trump sometimes spoke on the plane but it usually revolved around issues in the news. Manafort and Trump spoke on the plane about whether Obama's sanction against Russia were working. Manafort did not have any other policy discussions with Trump regarding Russia or Ukraine.

Dimitri Simes wrote a foreign policy speech for Trump. Henry Kissinger had recommended Simes to Kushner. Trump did not like the speech, so Stephen Miller redrafted it.

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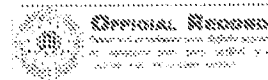
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/26/2018

BEATRIZ M. MARINELLO, date of birth [REDACTED] social security account number [REDACTED] was interviewed at the FBI New York field office, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, New York 10278. MARINELLO resides at [REDACTED] Her cell phone number is [REDACTED] MARINELLO was advised the nature of the interview pertained to Russian nationals who may have attended the World Chess Championship in 2016 [2016 WCC]. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, MARINELLO provided the following information:

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MARINELLO is the Vice President of the World Chess Federation. She has met a lot of Russians through her position. MARINELLO has traveled to Russia on a number of occasions for chess-related events. She has never met VLADIMIR PUTIN but understands he is a big fan of chess. MARINELLO added that world chess competitions are very important to Russians in general.

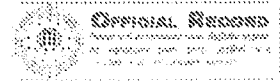
The 2016 WCC consisted of a player from Russia and a player from Norway. The Norwegian won. The dates of the event were November 10, 2016 through November 30, 2016. MARINELLO attended almost every day with the exception of maybe one or two. There were various areas designated for spectators and a special area for VIP personnel. The players competed in a sound-proof cabin in order to minimize distractions from the crowd.

The 2016 WCC was attended by various celebrities and prominent businessmen from New York. Hollywood actor, WOODY HARRELSON, was present for the opening ceremonies. When asked whether or not any Russian government officials were in attendance, MARINELLO stated, "likely, because the event was full of Russians." MARINELLO remembered seeing the Russian Press Officer at the event. When asked if that individual was DMITRY PESKOV, MARINELLO did not recall the name. MARINELLO believed the individual she met may have gone by the name of [REDACTED] [phonetic]. Another individual at the event claimed that PUTIN was in Florida on that day. MARINELLO believed that statement to be false however, as she did not see any news coverage of PUTIN being in Florida.

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b7CInvestigation on 05/31/2018 at New York, New York, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Date drafted 06/13/2018by [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

On 3/30/2018, SA [redacted] and IA [redacted] interviewed STEVEN B NIX, Director at the Eurasia Division for IRI with a work address of 1225 Eye Street NW, Suite [redacted] in Washington DC, a telephone number of 202-408-9450 and a work email of [redacted] at his place of work. Also present for the interview was [redacted] for IRI. After advising NIX and [redacted] of the identity of the interview agent and analyst, NIX provided the following information:

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Prior to joining IRI, NIX had been an attorney at a large law firm where he practiced some international law, including overseas election law. NIX had worked in Ukraine for four years as outside legal counsel for the Ukrainian Parliament, a position he had obtained through the International Association for Election Foundations.

NIX was hired by IRI in late 2000 or January 2001 as Director of the Eurasia Division.

KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK was hired by IRI in approximately 1998. At the time of NIX's hiring, KILIMNIK was an employee based out of IRI's Moscow office. KILIMNIK did translation work and general office management in IRI's Moscow office along with other different things (NFI).

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Investigation on 03/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/30/2018

by [redacted]

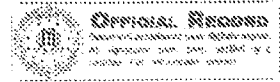
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- 1 of 4 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Date of entry 11/07/2017

GEORGE DIMITRIOS PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted], was interviewed at the BREEN & PUGH law office, 53 West Jackson Street, Suite 1215, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Present during the interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN.

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At the beginning of the interview, GOLDSTEIN advised PAPADOPOULOS that the same rules applied for this interview as they did in the previous proffer interviews on August 10, 2017, August 11, 2017, and September 19, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS was provided a copy of the agreement he signed on the dates prior, acknowledging his understanding of the continued proffer agreement. PAPADOPOULOS initialed and signed the agreement for this interview. His signature was witnessed and initialed by [redacted] After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identifies of the interviewers, PAPADOPOULOS provided the following information:

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[redacted]		b5 Per DOJ/OIP
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[redacted]		

[redacted]		b5 Per DOJ/OIP
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Investigation on 09/20/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/31/2017

by [redacted]

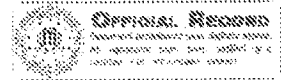
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/17/2018

On May 30th 2018, at the office of [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] John Podesta former Campaign Chairman for Hillary
 For America, was interviewed by employees of the Special Counsel's Office.
 In attendance were Attorney [REDACTED] Associate [REDACTED]
 Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent [REDACTED] Federal
 Bureau of Investigation Management and Program Analyst [REDACTED]
 Assistant Special Counsel Lawrence Rush Atkinson V, and Assistant Special
 Counsel Jeannie Rhee. After being advised of the identity of the
 interviewing agents, and purpose of the interview, Podesta stated the
 following:

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In the Spring of 2016, Podesta worked out of an office in Brooklyn, New
 York shared with his assistants [REDACTED] Podesta
 traveled a lot in March 2016, up to three to four times a week. Most of
 this travel during the campaign was with the goal of raising money for the
 Clinton Campaign in primary states. [REDACTED]

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Podesta confirmed [REDACTED] which he
 used from 2007 until the time of the leaks in 2016. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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To Podesta's

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Investigation on 05/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 05/30/2018

by [REDACTED]

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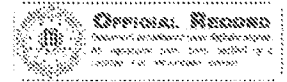
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- 1 of 19 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/19/2018

Josh Raffel was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SE, Washington, DC, pursuant to a proffer agreement. Raffel was accompanied by his attorneys [redacted] and [redacted].

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[redacted]. Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. After being advised and acknowledging it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, Raffel provided the following information:

[Agent note: All times referenced in the body of the document are in Coordinated Universal Time (UTC).]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/09/2018by [redacted]b6
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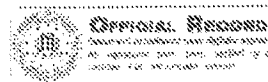
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- 1 of 1 -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/18/2017

James Rybicki, identifying information having previously been provided, was interviewed via Lync pursuant to documents recovered from former FBI Director James Comey. Rybicki provided the following information:

On Wednesday, July 26, 2017, Comey called the front office telephone number and left a telephone message for Rybicki. On the same day, Rybicki returned Comey's call either from his work desk or cell phone. Comey told Rybicki, while packing for an upcoming move, he found a folder with government documents. Comey agreed to provide the documents the next day when individuals from FBI Finance & Facilities Division (FFD) were returning Comey's personal property.

On Thursday, July 27, 2017, unknown personnel from FFD retrieved one blue "standard" folder from Comey at his residence. The folder contained a one page email, a one page chart with handwritten notes on the back and civil litigation paperwork for Comey. On the same day, [redacted], assigned to FFD, gave the above listed items to Rybicki at his office. Rybicki requested guidance from FBI Acting Director Andrew McCabe later that evening on how to handle the documents. McCabe requested that Comey's civil litigation paperwork go to the FBI's Office of General Counsel (OGC) and the remaining items be provided to FBI's Records Management Division. Rybicki sent the civil litigation paperwork to [redacted] the Acting Deputy General Counsel at OGC.

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On either Thursday, July 27, 2017 or Friday, July 28, 2017, Rybicki spoke with David Bowdich (Associate Deputy Director) regarding the remaining documents. On Friday at approximately 1:17 pm, Rybicki emailed [redacted] assigned to FFD. On the following Monday, July 31, 2017, [redacted] retrieved the documents from Rybicki.

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The documents retrieved from Comey are being maintained in the custody of the Records Management Division.

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Investigation on 08/07/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (, Other (Lync))
 File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/07/2017
 by [redacted]

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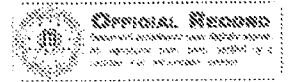
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

PAUL SAUNDERS, Executive Director for CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Patriots Plaza II, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546 by Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky.

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Accompanying SAUNDERS were CNI's outside counsel attorneys [REDACTED] [REDACTED] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, SAUNDERS executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7CInvestigation on 02/15/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/20/2018by SA [REDACTED]b6
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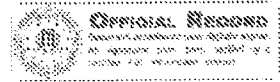
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/04/2017

PAULA MARY SHUGART [redacted] date of birth (DOB) [redacted]
 [redacted] office telephone [redacted] cell telephone [redacted] email [redacted]
 [redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office,
 Washington, D.C. Also present were [redacted] and [redacted]
 from DEBEVOISE & PLIMPTON, 919 Third Avenue, New York, New York, 10022;
 Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee; Assistant Special Counsel
 L. Rush Atkinson; and Supervisory Intelligence Analyst [redacted]
 After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the
 nature of the interview, SHUGART provided the following information:

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 09/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File #

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Date drafted 09/25/2017

by

[redacted]

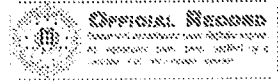
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[REDACTED]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 12 -

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/12/2018

CATHERINE MARIE VARGAS, [REDACTED] was interviewed on April 4, 2018 at the Special Counsel's Office. Present for the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmed, Special Agent [REDACTED] and Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] VARGAS was accompanied by her attorney, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 04/04/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person, Phone)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/05/2018

by [REDACTED]

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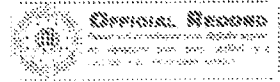
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/08/2017

(U) On or about 06/01/2017 Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] interviewed Yuval Weber (Weber), [redacted]

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[redacted] phone [redacted] email [redacted]
[redacted]

(U) The interview was established through a phone call earlier in the day in which SA [redacted] identified himself as "with the FBI." Upon meeting Weber, SA [redacted] introduced himself and SA [redacted] by first and last name

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[redacted]

[redacted]

through this early portion of the interview, SA [redacted] referred to himself as an FBI Agent, and Weber observed SA [redacted] badge. Later in the interview, Weber stated that he originally thought that SA [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted] SA [redacted] stated that he had said "F-B-I" on the phone and that is what likely caused the confusion. Additionally, SA [redacted] added that they did not intend to utilize a ruse or to cause confusion, it was just coincidental that Weber misheard SA [redacted] on the phone.

(U) During the interview Weber provided the following information:

Investigation on 06/01/2017 at [redacted] United States (In Person, Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/02/2017
by [redacted]

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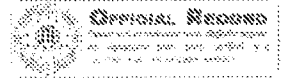
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- 1 of 5 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/12/2018

(U) On 1/25/2018 DOV ZAKHEIM, Vice Chairman of the Board for the Center for the National Interest (CNI), was interviewed by Special Agent [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels Andrew Goldstein and Aaron Zelinsky at the Office of Special Counsel, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20024. Accompanying ZAKHEIM were attorneys [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] from Baker Hostetler, LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing officials and the nature of the interview, ZAKHEIM provided the following information:

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

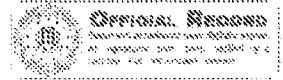
b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) Henry Kissinger is the Honorary Chairman of the Board of CNI [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 01/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/25/2018by [REDACTED]b6
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/13/2018

JARED COREY KUSHNER, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office (SCO) on April 11, 2018. Also present during the interview were KUSHNER's attorneys [REDACTED] from Norton Rose Fulbright US LLP, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Goldstein, FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] and FBI SA [REDACTED]. The interview began at approximately 9:15 a.m. and concluded at approximately 5:45 p.m. Water was provided to KUSHNER and his three attorneys. Multiple 5-10 minute breaks were taken. One 30 minute lunch break was taken. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, KUSHNER voluntarily provided the following information:

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[REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

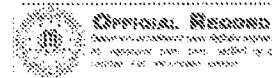
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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- 1 of 5 -



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/14/2018

Richard "Rick" M. GERSON, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [REDACTED] Address [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D. C. Present representing GERSON were [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of Paul Hastings, LLP. The interviewing team was FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] FBI Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, GERSON provided the following information:

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GERSON was aware of Kirill DMITRIEV's two roles: [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP [REDACTED] being tasked by Vladimir PUTIN to develop a reconciliation plan. DMITRIEV told GERSON that he was reporting directly to PUTIN [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

GERSON's discussions with DMITRIEV were in his own capacity [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] GERSON wasn't tasked by the transition team and he worked on the reconciliation plan on his own.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 06/15/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 07/17/2018

by [REDACTED]

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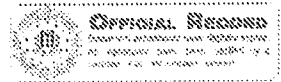
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/28/2018

Richard "Rick" M. GERSON, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) of [REDACTED] Address of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D.C. Present representing GERSON were [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of Paul Hastings, LLP. The interviewing team were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] FBI Intelligence Analyst [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels Jeannie Rhee, Aaron Zelinsky, and Zainab Ahmad. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GERSON provided the following information:

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Jared KUSHNER has been a friend of GERSON's [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP When KUSHNER became involved in the Trump campaign, their friendship continued. GERSON would occasionally bump into KUSHNER and they would talk about the campaign wherein KUSHNER would update GERSON as a friend. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] GERSON helped setup a lunch with [REDACTED] Tony BLAIR [REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] meeting with the UAE representatives [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 06/05/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 07/11/2018

by [REDACTED] b3
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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/31/2018

HENRY OKNYANSKY, aka HENRY GREENBERG, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] social security account number [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546. OKNYANSKY resides at [REDACTED] Present during the interview was FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] FBI SA [REDACTED] and Associate Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. OKNYANSKY was advised the interview was entirely voluntary and that he could discontinue it at any time. OKNYANSKY was further advised that intentionally providing false statements to FBI Agents was a violation of federal law. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, OKNYANSKY provided the following information:

In May 2016, OKNYANSKY met with ROGER STONE. [REDACTED]

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OKNYANSKY arranged the meeting with STONE in [REDACTED] 2016. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] CAPUTO accompanied STONE at the meeting and provided an introduction. [REDACTED]

OKNYANSKY was accompanied by his Ukrainian friend, ALEXEI RASIN, who offered STONE damaging information on HILLARY CLINTON. RASIN formerly worked for Clinton and was allegedly in possession of financial statements which demonstrated her involvement in money laundering activities with RASIN's companies. STONE inquired about the amount of financial misappropriations related to CLINTON and asked if it was in the amount of millions. RASIN relayed that it was rather somewhere in the amount of hundreds of thousands. STONE ultimately refuted the offer and stated that he did not believe DONALD TRUMP would pay for opposition research information. The meeting then concluded shortly thereafter.

Investigation on 07/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

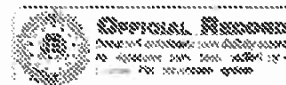
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FBI(19cv1278)-1326

EXHIBIT B

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/09/2018

Richard GATES, was interviewed at the 395 E Street SW, Washington, D. C. Also present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Weissmann, ASAC [REDACTED] and SSA [REDACTED] Gates was interview as part of the terms of his plea agreement. GATES provided the following information:

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GATES joined the Donald J. TRUMP Presidential Campaign in March 2016. The financial health of the campaign was not good at the time because TRUMP was self-funding the expenses. TRUMP made a pledge to his supporters on this point which he wanted to uphold. GATES did not think there were any fundraising opportunities at the time. The campaign had apathy towards not doing anything else and the RNC [Republican National Committee] support was not yet there. Eventually the TRUMP Campaign started to build a fundraising mechanism.

[Steven] MNUCHIN joined the campaign and became the finance chair around May of 2016. Other people on the campaign had a problem with the decision to bring MNUCHIN on because he had never raised a fundraising penny in his life. TRUMP realized the magnitude of self-funding a campaign - it could not be done. Paul MANAFORT did not have much of a role in the campaign in March or April. MANAFORT became more involved after TRUMP won the primary. MANAFORT and Jared [KUSHNER] spoke often about how much it work it would be to fundraise. After the primary they were able to lean on the RNC to assist with fundraising.

There were many fundraising events. [REDACTED]

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The campaign could never buy the advertising time they wanted because the financial expense was not in the ballpark of what they could afford to spend. The [James] COMEY email scenario helped - the last ten days before the election were good from a fundraising perspective. The money never really flowed. People contributed to big PACs due to the fact there were competitive House and Senate races. [REDACTED] contributed.

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MANAFORT and [REDACTED] knew each other for a long time. [REDACTED] was hired on to the campaign. The campaign wanted [REDACTED] to move to New York which was something he did not want to do. [REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 3 of 8

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 4 of 8

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FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 5 of 8

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 6 of 8

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FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 7 of 8

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FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 8 of 8

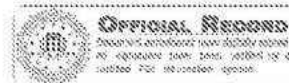
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EXHIBIT C



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

RICHARD HANNAH DAVIS (DAVIS) was interviewed at the Office of Special Counsel, Washington, DC on February 8, 2018. Present for the duration of the interview were FBI Special Agent [REDACTED] Forensic Accountant [REDACTED] and Special Counsel Attorneys Kyle Freeny and Greg Andres. Also present was DAVIS's attorneys [REDACTED] of the law firm Petrillo, Klin & Boxer LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, DAVIS provided the following information:

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DAVIS was advised his participation in the interview was voluntary. DAVIS was also advised he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a federal agent could constitute a federal crime. DAVIS acknowledged his rights and obligations.

Background

[REDACTED] After being involved in campaigns in Alabama and Mississippi, he got more involved in politics and came to Washington, DC. He became involved with the College Republican National Committee during 1980 when Reagan was nominated. He worked with LEE ATWATER organizing small campaigns for Reagan. He ended up working as White House staff. DAVIS worked for the Department of Health and Human Services in a role as White House Liaison and was involved in speech writing. When he left the administration, he worked with [REDACTED] and PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) as consultants managing a senate campaign in Virginia.

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During the Reagan administration, DAVIS worked in the Department of Interior as well as the Commerce Department. DAVIS worked for Thomas Barrack (BARRACK) where he was introduced to MANAFORT.

He worked for ATWATER again during Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign. Afterwards, he did domestic policy work for Reagan. In 1987, he left and joined BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY. This was DAVIS's first time working with MANAFORT, but he had known him previously. He started as an associate in the firm and then was promoted to junior partner. The firm was bi-partisan. In the early 1990s, BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY was

Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 02/15/2018

by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Hannah Davis Interview , On 02/08/2018 , Page 2 of 18

sold to Burson-Marsteller. He stayed for about four years before he left the firm in the mid-1990s. He set up a new firm, DAVIS, MANAFORT FREEDMAN. ROGER STONE also worked at the new company. This evolved into DAVIS MANAFORT INC. Around the end of the 1990s, DAVIS MANAFORT was really just MANAFORT and DAVIS and they mostly did foreign consulting as there was more money involved in foreign consulting. When needed, they hired contractors. DAVIS wanted the company to stay small. He did not like the atmosphere of large firms and managing people. The firm did some corporate work domestically. Most of this was DAVIS's. There was no paid political campaign work domestically. MANAFORT was not involved with any domestic work, only foreign work.

The firm's foreign footprint went way back to BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY. MANAFORT had done work in Africa and the Philippines in the past. DAVIS did not get involved with foreign work until later. In the late 1980s, DAVIS took his first international trip to Argentina. MANAFORT was working on the presidential campaign there. DAVIS went back occasionally for political work. MANAFORT did most of the foreign work for the firm. ATWATER also had foreign work, but he was in and out of U.S. administrations. STONE also did some foreign work.

DAVIS MANAFORT Entities

DAVIS MANAFORT, INC was DAVIS and MANAFORT's first entity. It was a C Corp. DAVIS MANAFORT PARTNERS, INC. (DMP) was formed later. DAVIS could not recall why they needed the partnership structure. DAVIS was not involved with DMP INTERNATIONAL LLC.

JOHN HANNAH

JOHN HANNAH was a pre-DMP entity. It was created when DAVIS, MANAFORT, [REDACTED] and others were buying vacation homes in Wintergreen, VA.

Originally, DAVIS and MANAFORT purchased a home together, but then MANAFORT bought a separate place and DAVIS had to enlist [REDACTED] to help pay the mortgage on the place he and MANAFORT had originally purchased together.

JOHN HANNAH began buying raw land on the mountain from developers. The entity was used as an investment vehicle particularly for real estate purchases. Initially, it was just Wintergreen properties, but they expanded into flipping properties, buying and selling five or six properties. When they had excess capital from DMP, they put it into JOHN HANNAH and invested it. Sometimes, excess revenue was sent directly to the JOHN HANNAH account.

Trump Tower Purchase

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Hannah Davis Interview , On 02/08/2018 , Page 3 of 18

The Trump Tower condo purchase was after they cashed out of Wintergreen. MANAFORT found the condo and bought it without DAVIS seeing it. The condo was used for business. MANAFORT used the condo more often. They used the condo for personal trips as well. MANAFORT handled the real estate transactions. The condo was purchased with income received from DMP.

MCCAIN Campaign

Around 1999 to 2000, DAVIS began his relationship with MCCAIN and joined his presidential campaign. DAVIS took a leave of absence from DAVIS MANAFORT. DAVIS's relationship with MCCAIN has continued through the present. He returned to DAVIS MANAFORT in early 2000 after the primaries and worked there until 2006 when he returned to work for MCCAIN's second presidential campaign. DAVIS remained working with MCCAIN until he lost the election in November 2008. When he was done with the MCCAIN campaign, he met with MANAFORT and they decided to part ways and so began the unwinding DMP.

PEGASUS

After parting with MANAFORT, DAVIS restarted his relationship with Craig Cogut at Pegasus Captial and began working for them as a partner around [REDACTED]. He is still with them as a partner. There are four partners. DAVIS is not a financial professional, but functions as an operating partner with a network of consultants, advisors, and researchers. DAVIS is involved with [REDACTED]

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DAVIS was introduced to Pegasus by [REDACTED]. He was first introduced to [REDACTED] was a New York finance guy. [REDACTED] did not have anything in common except their shared interest in environmental issues. DAVIS had previously done environmental defense work.

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In 2009, DAVIS and [REDACTED] talked regarding the need for investing funds in the environmental space. [REDACTED] pitched Pegasus as fund for sustainable markets, and DAVIS decided to join the firm.

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DAVIS did some previous work for Pegasus which involved helping with the [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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DAVIS's transition from politics to private equity was difficult. DAVIS was looking for a career change. He did not want to work in Washington, DC or with MANAFORT anymore. The MCCAIN campaign was bruising for DAVIS. There were attacks on lobbyists. DAVIS was attacked by the Obama campaign for doing work as a lobbyist. DAVIS did not like being in the spotlight.

There were moments during the MCCAIN campaign when MANAFORT wanted to be involved but DAVIS said no because of MANAFORT's background. MANAFORT's ego was bruised badly because he could not get into the MCCAIN campaign. When DAVIS got out of campaign, he learned that MANAFORT's only client was the Party of Regions and Victor Yanukovych. That was not appealing to DAVIS. MANAFORT only wanted to do foreign work. There was tension between DAVIS and MANAFORT after the campaign.

Prior to the MCCAIN campaign, DAVIS had a close relationship with MANAFORT. They spent a lot of time together, invested together and their families were close. After Black, MANAFORT Stone and Kelly was bought out, Black and Kelly stayed with the firm, but MANAFORT, DAVIS, and STONE left to start their new company.

Party of Regions/Ukraine Work

When asked why he did not want to participate in Party of Regions /Yanukovych work, DAVIS said he wanted a change of venue. He wanted to get out of politics. He could not reconcile being a MCCAIN guy and working for Yanukovych. MCCAIN had always been Russia's worst enemy in the U.S. Senate and Yanukovych was Russia/PUTIN's puppet.

MANAFORT was knee deep in Yanukovych's resurrection.

Other MANAFORT-DAVIS entities

DAVIS could not recall the entity Vernon View Partners. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] so he said it could have been an entity that DAVIS and MANAFORT shared.

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3eDC was a company organized by MANAFORT and DAVIS around the end of 2005 or early 2006. They realized the Republican Party had done a poor job in

[REDACTED]

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the intelligence and data gathering business. There was little investment from the Republican Party in infrastructure, such as data gathering and the computerization of campaigns. MANAFORT and DAVIS invested in data and computerization, and social media. They hired a few people, and the MCCAIN campaign became the company's first client. 3eDC became a vendor for the campaign involved with voter data and internet advertising. The connection to DAVIS got press attention because of DAVIS's position with the campaign as the campaign chairman. As the chairman, DAVIS had an overarching position running the campaign and was more involved with strategy, recruiting, and fundraising. He was not involved in day to day operations.

3eDC was let go when the campaign was ultimately shut down in 2008. When asked if 3eDC was a way to monetize his position on the campaign, DAVIS said yes. It was not unusual for this type of monetizing. DAVIS was not responsible for hiring 3eDC by MCCAIN. He presented the company. There was no comparable firms. It was a revolutionary idea.

3eDC did some work in Virginia for legislative races. In the end 3eDC was not a profitable, and DAVIS ended up losing money on 3eDC.

There was no relationship between 3eDC and JOHN HANNAH; however, JOHN HANNAH could have invested in 3eDC, but DAVIS could not recall.

[REDACTED]

In the early 2000s, MANAFORT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] MANAFORT embarked upon outside projects. He had a movie company [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] He always had the biggest house and fanciest car, and had expensive suits. Working with MANAFORT was stressful. He had an aggressive approach, but that was MANAFORT, he had an edge, and it worked.

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In the early 2000s, DAVIS's understanding was that MANAFORT's only source of income was DAVIS MANAFORT.

[REDACTED] handled DAVIS MANAFORT [REDACTED] of KWC was also involved until DAVIS left.

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LOAV Ltd was another one of MANAFORT's entities. DAVIS was not involved with the company. It was used for MANAFORT's side projects. When asked if DAVIS knew if money transferred between LOAV and JOHN HANNAH, DAVIS said it might have since LOAV was MANAFORT's investment vehicle. There could have been transfers into and out of either JOHN HANNAH or DMP or both companies. Funds were comingled. DAVIS assumed DMP funds were coming from other sources. MANAFORT never shared where money was coming from.

[REDACTED]

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When asked if MANAFORT borrowed money from DAVIS, he said no, but MANAFORT took more than his share from the company. DAVIS would usually find out from [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] was MANAFORT's buddy [REDACTED]. He seemed close with MANAFORT and got MANAFORT into international activities. [REDACTED] got MANAFORT into fancy suits and high living. When asked why he thought [REDACTED] was giving MANAFORT money, DAVIS said it was a rumor that DAVIS had heard from other people. For example, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DAVIS did not know the nature of MANAFORT's business or investments with [REDACTED]. He only knew [REDACTED] before DAVIS became a partner with MANAFORT.

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DAVIS first met MANAFORT around 1977 to 1978 when he was chairman for the College Republic National Committee in Alabama. [REDACTED] he met young republicans, connected with MANAFORT, ATWATER, and STONE through [REDACTED] when he went to Memphis on a WHIP for Young Republicans to lobby. STONE was the chairman of the Young Republicans. MANAFORT was running phone banks. In 1981 or 1982, he got closer to MANAFORT during the Virginia senate race.

Rick Gates (GATES)

GATES worked for BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE, AND KELLY. GATES worked as a driver. DAVIS did not know how he got hired. [REDACTED] lottery company, was a client. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] and MANAFORT were close as well going back to the early days of MANAFORT's political life.

GATES left [REDACTED] MANAFORT was looking to hire because DAVIS and [REDACTED] were leaving. MANAFORT hired GATES. DAVIS and GATES knew each other but never really worked together. The only overlapped for a couple of months. Over the years, DAVIS has communicated with GATES for scheduling, but he always messed it up. GATES was not very organized.

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DAVIS and MANAFORT invested in Washington Nationals tickets together, which they kept until last year when MANAFORT dropped out and did not pay the bill. [REDACTED] MANAFORT did not notify DAVIS he was dropping out, he just didn't pay the bill.

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Foreign Work

[redacted]

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Montenegro was DAVIS's last foreign gig. Montenegro was the last bit of Yugoslavia under Serbian rule. At the time, DAVIS was working with [redacted] in Eastern Europe. [redacted] DERIPASKA was the largest business owner in Montenegro. He owned power and aluminum plants.

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[redacted] DERIPASKA, [redacted] wanted to invest in Montenegro. They bought a navy base on the coast and converted it to super yacht port. They asked DAVIS to get involved in Montenegro's independence referendum. DAVIS and MANAFORT worked on the election and referendum campaign which occurred in early 2006. DAVIS was more involved than MANAFORT. [redacted] was in Eastern Europe at the time. [redacted] hired DAVIS to be a political "risk adjuster." He wanted information on first generation election countries. [redacted] was making investments in Eastern Europe and wanted DAVIS to meet with politicians and corporate heads and look at assets.

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This work occurred around 2004 to 2006. [redacted]

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DAVIS sometimes met with politicians and sometimes took surveys. DAVIS made the phone calls, set up the meetings, gave advice, did some research on stability and government, and political climate. [redacted] firm in London was a client of DMP.

DAVIS met [redacted] via a friend in early 2004. DAVIS could not recall who the friend was. The friend had called DAVIS and said he had a client who wanted to meet him in New York the next day. DAVIS went to Atticus Capital, a hedge fund in New York, and met [redacted] who explained what he wanted. [redacted] said he had found DAVIS on Google. DAVIS started working with [redacted] one month later.

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DAVIS first met DERIPASKA in London at lunch. DAVIS believed it was around the end of 2004. [redacted] introduced DERIPASKA as his friend and board member doing business together in Russia and Eastern Europe. DERIPASKA seemed to have an interesting background. DAVIS learned DERIPASKA was [redacted]

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[redacted] DERIPASKA was an aluminum magnate, bigger than Alcoa. He was on an acquisition binge.

DAVIS mostly met DERIPASKA at meetings in Moscow. He met with him about four times. DERIPASKA's business focus was aluminum. He bought aluminum plants all over the world. [redacted] was investing in various real estate. One example was an old Bulgarian train station. DERIPASKA and [redacted] had some shared business, including power companies.

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[REDACTED]

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MANAFORT was not involved with [REDACTED] and DERIPASKA until late 2005 or 2006. DAVIS introduced DERIPASKA to MANAFORT. They did some work together. DERIPASKA became a client of DMP. They were paid by for work in Montenegro. DAVIS was not clear how they divided up payments. He knew wires were coming in. For example, they would send an invoice to [REDACTED] or DERIPASKA, and then a wire would come in from overseas to a DMP account in US, and they had to figure out from whom.

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DAVIS said there was an account set up in the Seychelles many years earlier, but it was shut down and they were not using it.

In Montenegro, they were just paid for the independence referendum. They were paid by [REDACTED] and DERIPASKA.

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In Georgia, [REDACTED] originally wanted to look at assets and assess political environment and ability to invest. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DAVIS got to know the President of Georgia who wanted [REDACTED] investment. There was minimal commercial growth in the country and still Russian influence and recovering from revolution. [REDACTED] was considering buying [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The President had an issue with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ended up not buying it [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] DAVIS did not do any political consulting work in Georgia. DAVIS got to know the many people in the Georgian government who was made up mostly of Georgia ex- expats, but he did not work on campaign there.

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DAVIS did not work in Uzbekistan, but he believed MANAFORT worked in one of the "stans." DAVIS did not think DMP worked in the "stans." They only worked in Montenegro and Ukraine.

DAVIS's work in the Ukraine began prior to the 2006 election. [REDACTED] and DAVIS fly to Kiev for the election of Yanukovych versus Yushchenko. They had meetings with people associated with KUCHMA, the existing

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[REDACTED]

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president of Ukraine. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] so he wanted to get a sense of the election. His people were friends of Kuchma.

DAVIS learned about the split dynamic between the east and the west in Ukrainian politics. DAVIS read through surveys and polls and got a sense for what was happening in elections. There was an assumption that YANUKOVYCH would get the job and be KUCHMA's successor. KUCHMA was leaving office, but he was coy regarding his support for YANUKOVYCH. At the time, the Ukrainian economy was doing well and the country was more unified. DAVIS met with legislators who were members of the Party of Regions. DAVIS's assessment was that it "smelled bad." People wanted change. That was clear from polling data. Everyone was saying YANUKOVYCH was going to win. DAVIS didn't think so because people wanted change. DAVIS told [REDACTED] that there was instability and YANUKOVYCH may not win. DAVIS left without plans to do future work in Ukraine. After DAVIS left Kiev, around the time of the election, there were new polls, and [REDACTED] was alarmed by the results. DAVIS sent [REDACTED] to Ukraine to monitor the elections. This was when the Orange Revolution happened. YANUKOVYCH claimed the win, but the validity of the elections were challenged and the results overturned.

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DAVIS did not do any more work in Ukraine and never went back to Ukraine. Beginning in late 2006, DAVIS started working with MCCAIN more. MANAFORT got together with [REDACTED] and DERIPASKA and was introduced to Rinat AKHMETOV (AHKMETOV). This was the beginning of DMP's relationship with AHKMETOV.

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DAVIS said the work for AHKMETOV was a different kind of work, meaning not political consulting work. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

When asked how DMP got involved in political work for the Party of Regions, DAVIS stated that AHKMETOV funded the Party of Regions. DMP got involved in political work for the Party of Regions branching from work done for AHKMETOV. After the Orange Revolution, the Party of Regions was not really active or doing anything. AHKMETOV and MANAFORT orchestrated a Party of Regions come back. During this time period, DAVIS was doing Montenegro and MCCAIN work, and was not in the Ukraine.

Konstantin Kilimnik

The first time that DAVIS met Konstantin Kilimnik (KILIMNIK) was in Moscow. He was introduced by [REDACTED]. This was probably around the time [REDACTED] went to Ukraine.

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[REDACTED]

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When asked about DMP's Moscow office, DAVIS said Black MANAFORT Stone and Kelly had a Moscow office back in 1992, but DMP did not have an office there. DAVIS only went to Moscow to meet with DERIPASKA.

DAVIS tried to put KILIMNIK in Montenegro but ended up not hiring him. He learned KILIMNIK was working for DMP in Ukraine from [REDACTED] DAVIS described KILIMNIK as the "IRI guy." KILIMNIK was referred as a potential hire because he spoke Russian and had political experience. DAVIS later learned in the media that KILIMNIK was Army Intelligence. DAVIS did not particularly like KILIMNIK. [REDACTED]

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Cyprus

When asked about work in Cyprus, DAVIS stated he did not work there. MANAFORT may have been involved in a campaign when DERIPASKA's lawyer was running for Prime Minister, but DAVIS was not involved. DAVIS did not know the name of DERIPASKA's lawyer. DAVIS never met with the lawyer and never went to Cyprus.

DAVIS also did political work in Panama and Argentina in the early 2000s.

Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA)

When asked about lobbying in the US, DAVIS stated he used [REDACTED] as a lawyer to look into FARA issues. He did not lobby much. Lobbying was not part of DAVIS's business.

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DAVIS stated he did not do US outreach for Montenegro.

DAVIS did have conversations with MANAFORT about FARA. They had frequent conversations regarding FARA when clients wanted to lobby in the US. DMP did not do lobbying in the US, but would hire firms to do the work.

DERIPASKA and MCCAIN

MCCAIN and DERIPASKA met on two occasions. The first time was in Davos around January 2006. They happened to be in the same place at the same time. During this first meeting, MCCAIN and DAVIS were in Davos together. DERIPASKA had a big dinner. [REDACTED] also had a big dinner at Cloisters, and DERIPASKA was there. DAVIS introduced DERIPASKA to MCCAIN at that dinner. They engaged in small talk.

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The second time MCCAIN and DERIPASKA met was in Montenegro around August 2006. MCCAIN was traveling in Eastern Europe with eight other US Senators. The Senators went to Georgia and then Montenegro. MCCAIN had been invited to Montenegro by the Prime Minister. While there, the President of

[REDACTED]

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Montenegro threw a big party with government officials and others. When DERIPASKA and [REDACTED] learned the delegation was coming, they decided to bring their yachts to the port in Montenegro, and they met MCCAIN after the dinner party. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] It was a social meeting. DERIPASKA had a close relationship with and investments in Montenegro. There were no requests by Montenegro to reach out to US. They did not need US influence for the Montenegro referendum.

Eurasia 21

Eurasia 21 was a DMP project. At the time, there was no easy way to know about current events in the news in Eastern Europe. They wanted to set up a web portal for Eastern Europe press reporting, translated to English and put online in order to aggregate news in one place. [REDACTED] funded the project but ultimately, it shut down. The website was set up by a woman named [REDACTED] and a think tank in DC was hired to run the content. DERIPASKA was also involved in Eurasia 21. He knew about the project but did not fund it. The Eurasia Heritage Fund was something different.

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DERIPASKA was practical with his relationship with Russia and PUTIN. He knew PUTIN could give and take away and PUTIN's favor was practical to DERIPASKA's business.

Basel (Basic Element) was DERIPASKA's holding company. DAVIS did not recall exactly but believed there were Basel offices in Moscow and London. DAVIS attended a Basel board meeting in London one time.

DERIPASKA's involvement in other countries

When asked if DERIPASKA funded anything other than Montenegro, DAVIS said he may have funded Georgia work as well as various activities, such as polling, in other countries. It was hard to determine who was paying what bill because overseas wires came from entities. It was unclear who the sender was and the description of work was not always listed on wires.

Loans from DERIPASKA

DAVIS was not aware of loans from DERIPASKA. MANAFORT talked about receiving loan, but DAVIS did not think any of the money coming in was actually a loan. MANAFORT said they were going to treat money as a loan from DERIPASKA, but DAVIS was concerned regarding this. DAVIS understood the purpose of treating the incoming funds as a loan was to shield income; however this was not explicitly said. DAVIS never saw a loan agreement. DAVIS stated DAVIS MANAFORT/DMP made a lot of money from DERIPASKA in the form of income, but they had never received a "loan" from Deripaska before.

[REDACTED]

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DERIPASKA did not loan money for Trump Tower. At the time, DERIPASKA and [REDACTED] were paying DMP for work DMP had done.

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DAVIS was referred to an email chain dated September 13, 2007 with the subject of "JOHN HANNAH." (Exhibit 1) The email chain included a thread between MANAFORT AND [REDACTED] copying DAVIS, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] asked for more details about the loans from the Ukrainian/Russian lender. MANAFORT responds stating "this was a loan to JHI for investment purposes. They NY apt was such an investment." DAVIS did not think it was a loan. DAVIS never saw the loan documents, was not aware of any loan terms and the loan was not repaid. Money received by DMP from DERIPASKA was for services.

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DAVIS's last communication with DERIPASKA was around October 2006.

When MANAFORT and DAVIS were winding down their business together, there were discussions regarding the "loans" to JOHN HANNAH and from a Russian lender. [REDACTED] handled this because MANAFORT and DAVIS did not communicate with each other very much at this time. DAVIS told [REDACTED] he did not think they were loans and if there were any loans on the books, DAVIS was suspicious of them. DAVIS told [REDACTED] that MANAFORT could keep any of the assets derived from the "loans".

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Other Loans

When asked if he was aware of other loans used to purchase assets, DAVIS stated that he did not know if the Traxys investment had been purchased with a loan, but it was bought by JOHN HANNAH. In the winding down, TII Holdings and JOHN HANNAH went to MANAFORT and Traxys went to DAVIS.

DAVIS was not aware of promissory notes where he owed money to the business. DAVIS was shown promissory notes from 2005 and 2007 from DMP to DAVIS (Exhibit 2). DAVIS did not recall executing promissory notes and did not know why he would have a promissory note. He does not recall receiving the money or the promissory note. The amount of the promissory note in 2005, [REDACTED] was close to annual income from DMP. The amount of the promissory note in 2007, [REDACTED] was more than he believed he had received in income that year. Funds received by DAVIS from DMP were income not loans.

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DAVIS would have seen ledgers for DMP and JOHN HANNAH prior to 2007. DAVIS used KWC to prepare his taxes. He does not ever recall seeing loans on the books of the company. DAVIS could not recall if he received distributions in 2008, but it was possible.

DMP Income

[REDACTED]

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When DMP was winding down, [REDACTED] did not ask about the promissory notes, or funds "Due from DAVIS". Funds were divided 50/50 between MANAFORT and DAVIS. During the years 2006 through 2008, DAVIS had quit taking salary from DMP. His distribution from DMP was from previous activity, not from new client funds.

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Some funds received would have gone directly to JOHN HANNAH instead of DMP. DAVIS was not aware of money going to LOAV unless MANAFORT would have directed that.

[REDACTED]

DAVIS's last contact with [REDACTED] was in New York. DAVIS ran into him six months ago. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was still in contact with [REDACTED] worked in [REDACTED] for DAVIS. [REDACTED] might have also done a little work in [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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Funds received by Foreign Entities

DAVIS was asked about \$14 million to DMP from Vega Holdings in 2005, of which DAVIS received approximately [REDACTED] DAVIS did not know for sure, but thought it might have been for work done for Akhmetov.

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When asked whether there were written contracts, DAVIS stated that it was routine to have contracts with corporate clients, but this was difficult with governments. DMP likely had a contract with AKHMETOV because it was a corporate project and they hired an accountant/law firms and needed to pay them.

Political consulting contracts were divided into phase, but DAVIS did not know specifics on contracts with Ukraine as he did not work on Ukraine.

When asked about ANTES MANAGEMENT, DAVIS did not recall why DMP was paid by the company. When asked about SCM, DAVIS said it could have related to AKHMETOV. When asked about NEOCOM SYSTEMS and ALGEMES SOLUTIONS, DAVIS did not recall why they were being paid by these entities.

PERICLES

PERICLES was an outgrowth of activities in Eastern Europe. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was not that interested in investing in the venture because he had his own hedge fund. DAVIS and MANAFORT did not know much about private equity so they reached out to [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They launched the fund, documents were executed and opportunities were looked at.

DAVIS did not go to Ukraine or Poland to look for investments because he left to work for the MCCAIN campaign. By the time DAVIS had finished working for MCCAIN, MANAFORT said PERICLES was done. MANAFORT said

[REDACTED] DAVIS did not know about [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DAVIS was not aware that investments were made. He learned of the investments through the Cayman Islands lawsuit. DAVIS did not have discussions with MANAFORT regarding the lawsuit or the deposition in connection with the lawsuit.

MANAFORT had told DAVIS that around November 2008, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DAVIS did not speak with [REDACTED] regarding the investments. DAVIS has not spoken with [REDACTED] since around 2006. When asked if he spoke with [REDACTED] regarding the matter, DAVIS said [REDACTED] had pulled out. DAVIS had spoken with him in the spring of 2009.

Cyprus Bank Accounts

DAVIS was not aware of the Cypriot bank accounts. DAVIS was not aware of any accounts set up in the Cayman Islands. When DAVIS left, there were no Cayman accounts set up.

Other Contacts

DAVIS did not know who [REDACTED] was.

[REDACTED] sounded familiar, but DAVIS did not know him.

[REDACTED] was a [REDACTED] who had worked with MANAFORT on Ukraine stuff. DAVIS has not had contact with [REDACTED] in about a decade.

[REDACTED] was [REDACTED] DAVIS was not aware of any work she did for DMP.

A few years ago, DAVIS became aware that MANAFORT was using DAVIS's name after he left the company. MANAFORT did not ask permission. DAVIS called RICK GATES and told him not to use his name or his initials.

[redacted]

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[redacted] worked for DMP and had previously worked for DAVIS as an intern for MCCAIN work in 2000. [redacted] was involved in Montenegro, the Panama Presidential Campaign, and Ukraine. [redacted] left DMP to work on MCCAIN campaign.

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[redacted] and MANAFORT had a relationship as very close friends. They were involved in some business together. There was a project involving insurance in Virginia.

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DAVIS did not know who [redacted] was.

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DAVIS said he had not met [redacted] and had no business with him.

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DAVIS did not meet SERHIY LYVOCHKIN, VICTOR YANUKOVYCH, or RINAT AKHMETOV. DAVIS knew MANAFORT worked for AKHMETOV as the Party of Regions. AKHMETOV was the Party of Regions post-Yuschenko election and the Orange Revolution.

Memo dated July 1, 2005 from MANAFORT and DAVIS to DERIPASKA regarding "Work Plan" (Exhibit 3)

When shown the memo, DAVIS did not specifically recall the document, but he had no reason to believe it was not sent to him. The purpose of the memo was to line up projects. Funding was project by project.

DERIPASKA, MANAFORT and DAVIS met in Moscow probably three times. Some things in the memo materialized. Georgia and Ukraine materialized. DAVIS was not aware if Tajikistan materialized. MANAFORT possibly did some work there.

[REDACTED]

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DERIPASKA never retained DMP to do lobbying in the US. He was not looking for this service.

When asked if DMP hired Akin Gump, DAVIS did not know of this. When asked if they hired Project Associates, DAVIS stated they were hired for communications and public relations work in Montenegro but not in the US. It was an EU centric campaign.

DAVIS said there never was a Moscow DMP office. When asked why the Moscow office was referenced, DAVIS stated that KILIMNIK worked for DMP, and he was in Moscow.

Memo dated July 1, 2006 from MANAFORT to DERIPASKA regarding "Work Plan and Model" (Exhibit 4)

DAVIS was shown a memo from July 2006 from MANAFORT and DAVIS to DERIPASKA. DAVIS generally recalled the document, but not the specifics. DAVIS commented it looked like a draft because the work was not completed. The document was likely written by MANAFORT. Generally, MANAFORT would write proposals and plans. DAVIS did not know who the "Basel Officials" were. DAVIS met with DERIPASKA directly when met with Basel. MANAFORT may have met with other officials at Basel.

When asked about the reference to Ukraine, DAVIS said Ukraine was the economic driver in the region, but DERIPASKA was not that interested in Ukraine. DERIPASKA was friends with people associated with the Party of Regions such as AKHMETOV and YANUKOVYCH, but DERIPASKA was not actively involved in Ukraine politics. That was AKHMETOVs' turf.

When asked about work in Georgia and "-stan" countries, DAVIS stated that by the time of this memo, DAVIS was done in Georgia. The work in the "stans" did not come to fruition.

When asked why foreign politicians and businessmen were hiring DMP, DAVIS stated that they thought DMP was smarter.

When asked about the reference to the Eurasia Heritage Fund, DAVIS did not know exactly what this was referring to. This was not the Eurasia 21 website. It may have been an NGO or a think tank. DAVIS said it was not a fund or a charitable entity. There were no conversations regarding this type of entity being used for this work.

Russian NGO

BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY, had a rich history in Russia. They helped set up the stock exchange and cabinet. In the early 1980s, the post-

[REDACTED]

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Soviet era, there were conversations about the development of institutions and NGO development because Russia did not have any. DAVIS did not know if anything ever materialized.

DAVIS also recalled conversations about public policy and social responsibility by the Russian elite. Relations with Russia were different in those times. It was more friendly.

Oguster

DAVIS did not recall who Oguster was. He was not familiar with the entity.

Email dated August 29, 2016 from DAVIS to [REDACTED] of KWC with subject "Re: RKD Partners pending questions" (Exhibit 5)

In the email, [REDACTED] asked DAVIS about the status of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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When asked if had ever been paid via stock or shares, DAVIS stated that he asked for this but never received it. DAVIS wanted equity position, but was not offered one.

T-II Holdings and IGPS were part of the Traxys portfolio of Pegasus. JOHN HANNAH invested in these companies. When JOHN HANNAH wound down, DAVIS ended up with T-II, and DAVIS and MANAFORT split IGPS 50/50.

Executed Termination Document of JOHN HANNAH (Exhibit 6)

DAVIS was shown an executed termination document of JOHN HANNAH. DAVIS stated it was his signature on the document. He did not recall the document specifically, but he had no reason to believe it was not the actual document.

DAVIS did not recall the assumption of the Russian lender debt of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Although, DAVIS did not recall the debt, he signed the document saying he was assuming the debt. DAVIS stated that this did sound familiar, but the goal was to get MANAFORT to take on the Russian lender debt.

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When asked if this put on DAVIS's books, DAVIS assumed so because [REDACTED] [REDACTED] When asked why he agreed to assume the debt, DAVIS said MANAFORT told him DERIPASKA had loaned them money. DAVIS questioned this. DAVIS stated that there was no loan. DERIPASKA paid them fees; he did not lend money. When asked how he

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[REDACTED]

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ended up with the debt, DAVIS said he did not know. DAVIS thought this was irrelevant because he did not believe there was a loan and did not believe they owed any money.

YIAKORA VENTURES

DAVIS had not heard of YIAKORA.

JOHN HANNAH

DAVIS believes JOHN HANNAH was re-incorporated by MANAFORT in Florida after they separated. DAVIS learned this from the indictment.

Memo from MANAFORT to AKHMETOV dated June 2, 2005 with the subject "Re: Major Development in US Government Position on Ukraine Re-Privatization"

DAVIS did not recall MANAFORT contacting the National Security Council (NSC) about the re-privatization issue. MANAFORT did not ever lobby directly for anyone. He had relationships. DAVIS was not sure if MANAFORT had a point of contact on the NSC at the time. It was not unlike MANAFORT to ask someone to ask someone for him. DAVIS did not know specifically who his contacts were because MANAFORT had been out of domestic business for a long time.

Additional Contacts

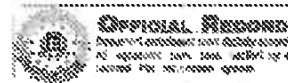
When asked about [REDACTED] DAVIS stated he knew them well.

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When asked about ROHRABACHER, DAVIS said MANAFORT knew ROHRABACHER from the 1980s during freedom fighter days of the Angolan war. DAVIS did not know if MANAFORT and ROHRABACHER maintained their acquaintance.

DAVIS did not know of a relationship between AKHMETOV and Russia.

EXHIBIT D



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Devine has been a political media consultant/advisor since approximately 1980 when he worked on the President Jimmy Carter campaign. In addition to working on the Presidential campaigns for Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and John Kerry, Devine served as the Chief of Staff for former Providence Mayor Joseph Paolino and was an Assistant to Boston University President [REDACTED]. Devine also provided services for approximately 20 presidential elections outside of the United States. Most recently, Devine worked for Bernie Sanders.

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Since 1983, Devine has been a partner in several political media consulting firms. In or around 2007, Devine formed Devine & Mulvey [REDACTED] [REDACTED] In or around 2013 [REDACTED] to form Devine Mulvey and Longabaugh.

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In or around 2005, [REDACTED] of Davis Manafort reached out to Devine's [REDACTED] at D&D Media Inc. [REDACTED] to inquire about their interest in working in Ukraine. After speaking with Manafort on the telephone, Devine traveled to Ukraine and met with Manafort and the Party of Regions (POR). Devine recalled being impressed with the campaign team.

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Investigation on 07/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # _____ Date drafted 07/11/2018

by

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[redacted]
(U//~~LES~~) Thomas "Tad" Devine - July 6,
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to include [redacted] an outside election observer. He subsequently agreed to join the team to manage the media campaign for Manafort and the POR.

Devine and his team initially signed up to work on the 2005-06 parliamentary elections, but also worked on subsequent parliamentary elections as well as the 2010 Presidential election.

Other individuals who provided services for Manafort and the POR include his [redacted] (media), [redacted] (media), [redacted]

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[redacted] Pollster - [redacted] and [redacted]

Devine stopped working for Manafort and the POR after former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was imprisoned in or around late 2011. However, a few people who worked for and with Devine, such as [redacted] continued to work for Manafort and the POR.

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Devine only met Yanukovych at one of the media photo/video shoots.

Devine never met Rinat Akhmetov, but knew from conversations with Manafort that Akhmetov was one of the principal fundraisers for the POR. Manafort told Devine that Akhmetov was funding the POR for [redacted]

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Manafort's staff in the Ukraine included [redacted] and Konstantin Kilimnik. [redacted]

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Approximately 95% of Devine's work in the Ukraine involved producing media ads, to include short 30-second ads and a few half-hour pieces. Devine also wrote several speeches for Yanukovych, to include an economic speech and his 2010 political convention speech.

For the 2010 Presidential election, Devine and his team were paid [redacted] plus a [redacted] win bonus.

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After the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution and the exile of President Viktor Yanukovych, Manafort's partner Rick Gates asked Devine to come back and meet with the new opposition block party. Devine stated he went back to Ukraine and did work for Manafort and Gates for one week. He was paid a total of [redacted]

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Paul Manafort:

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Devine had a very good professional relationship with Manafort, but never really socialized with him. He described Manafort as [REDACTED] was good to/with Devine. Devine's impression of Manafort while in the Ukraine was a positive one. While very demanding, he had an enormous challenge and worked very hard, day and night.

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While working in the Ukraine, Devine would see Manafort at breakfast and meetings at Manafort's office in Kiev. They might have also had a few dinners together.

Manafort met regularly with Yanukovych and other POR Officials. Devine knew this from his conversations with Manafort.

Devine described both Manafort and [REDACTED] as his peers while in the Ukraine.

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Rick Gates:

Rick Gates was Manafort's business guy who and was involved in all the campaigns, but more in a business aspect.

Documents:

Devine was shown the following documents:

1. Consulting Agreements between Devine related entities and Paul Manafort. Devine stated these were standard contracts where there would have been schedules attached hereto. Document 009 would have been the contract for the 2010 Ukraine Presidential Campaign.
2. Various memos regarding the media campaign in the Ukraine during 2005. Devine could tell from the memo structure that these were memos he authored. For memos written "from" both Devine and Manafort, Devine would author and Manafort would modify. Devine recalled Manafort liked Akhmethov.
3. Various Invoices from Devine/Mulvey/Longabaugh to Davis Manafort. Devine stated these were routine invoices that in the end got paid. Manafort never discussed "loans" with Devine. Gates would often tell Devine they (Davis Manafort) were expecting a new "traunche" and would be sending payment to Devine.

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[redacted]
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4. January 13, 2006, email conversation between Devine, [redacted]
[redacted] Devine recalled this email was written after
receiving [redacted] polling data. Devine identified [redacted] as an
employee of Davis Manafort in Ukraine.

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5. February 3, 2010, email conversation between Devine and Manafort
regarding **Election Night Speech**. Devine recalled Manafort asked Devine
to draft an election night speech for Yanukovych. Devine confirmed
this the speech he drafted.

6. February 16, 2010, email conversation between Devine and Manafort
regarding **FYI**. Devine stated this was a conversation about an agreed
to bonus between Devine and Manafort for Yanukovych's victory.

7. August 12, 2010, Media Strategy and Presentation of Message Memo
from PJM (Manafort) to Yanukovych with cc's to [redacted] and bcc's
to [redacted] Devine confirmed this was a memo he authored and
Manafort adopted. Devine was unsure of all the individuals identified
by initials; however, [redacted] might have been a reference to [redacted]
[redacted] It was Manafort's practice refer to everyone by their initials.

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8. September 1, 2010, email conversation between Devine, Manafort,
[redacted] Gates, [redacted] regarding **Talking Points**.
Devine recalled these talking points were drafted for Yanukovych's
convention speech.

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9. August 15, 2011, email conversation between Devine, Gates, [redacted]
and [redacted] regarding **Meeting**. Devine recalled Gates reached out to
Devine to see if he could arrange a tour/meeting of the White House
press office. Devine could not recall if he reached out to anyone.

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10. September 20, 2011, email from [redacted] to [redacted] and [redacted]
regarding **Ukraine - First Draft**. Devine recalled this was drafted in
response to the attached polling data forwarded by [redacted] of
the Tarrance Group.

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11. February 8, 2012, email conversation between Devine and [redacted]
[redacted] regarding **Updating Website**. As previously mentioned, Devine
stopped working for Manafort and the POR after the imprisonment
Tymoshenko. [redacted] was asking Devine if he wanted to keep the
reference to past work in Ukraine on their website.

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Devine further recalled being told by Gates that Manafort and the POR hired an outside law firm to conduct an independent review of the Tymoshenko's imprisonment.

12. April 2, 2012, email conversation between Devine, [redacted] Gates and [redacted] regarding **Ukraine**. Devine recalled Gates reached out to Devine and [redacted] regarding additional work in the Ukraine. As previously stated, Devine and [redacted] decided to stop doing work in Ukraine following the imprisonment of Tymoshenko.

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13. August 6, 2012, email conversation between TAD (Devine) and Manafort at [redacted] regarding **Memo**. Devine recalled that although they were no longer working for Manafort and the POR, Manafort wanted to pick his brain and Devine also wanted to maintain his good relationship with Manafort.

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14. November 27, 2013, email conversation between Devine and [redacted] regarding **Ukraine**. [redacted] was a [redacted] in the firm and Devine wanted to include him in the decision making process.

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15. March 31, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine), [redacted] regarding **Call - Important**. This was after Yanukovych fled and Poroshenko took over. Nothing came out of this business proposal and a contract was never executed.

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16. April 1, 2014 email conversation between TAD (Devine), [redacted]
[redacted] regarding [redacted]
[redacted]

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17. June 9, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine), Gates, [redacted] regarding **Kyiv**. This was a conversation regarding Devine's last project in Ukraine.

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18. June 16, 2014, email conversation between Devine, [redacted]
[redacted] Devine identified [redacted] as his
[redacted]

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19. June 19, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine) and [redacted]
[redacted]

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20. August 16, 2015 email conversation between Manafort and Devine regarding **Meet the Press**. Manafort reached out to compliment Devine after a Bernie Sanders appearance on Meet the Press.

21. May 26, 2016, email conversation between [redacted] Devine and [redacted] regarding **Manafort's cell**: [redacted] Devine recalled then Presidential Candidate Trump appeared on TV and when asked if he would debate Sanders he said he would. They wanted to reach out to Manafort about setting up the debate.

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22. September 21, 2017, email conversation between Devine and [redacted]
[redacted] Devine stated the date as noted appears to be an error.

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b7CMiscellaneous:

Devine recalled being surprised when he read the Manafort indictments.

Administrative:

A copy of the above-referenced documents and interview notes have been attached for the file.

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